/For information on Yokuts internal linguistic relationships and distributions, see category 116, pp. 169-170, 309-363, and 375-377.--Analyst/

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[Title Page]

AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

VOLUME II

WITH 21 PLATES AND MAP

FREDERIC WARD PUTNAM

EDITOR

BERKELEY
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1904-1907

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS
AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY
VOL. 8 NO. 5

THE YOKUTS LANGUAGE OF SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA.

BY
A. L. KROEBER.

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THE YOKUTS LANGUAGE OF SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA.

The Indians of the Yokuts linguistic family, sometimes also called Mariposan, inhabited the southern end of the San Joaquin basin in California. Roughly, their territory extended from the Sierra Nevada to the Coast Range, and from the Tehachapi mountains which shut off the San Joaquin basin on the south from the desert, to the Fresno and Chowchilla rivers in the north. The higher Sierras all along this territory, and certain foothill regions in the south, were occupied by Indians belonging to the Shoshonean family. The great level stretch of valley throughout, and in most cases the foothills also, were occupied by the Yokuts. A detached branch of the family, known as the Cholovone, inhabited a small area on the east bank of the San Joaquin, in the vicinity of Stockton, considerably nearer the mouth of this river than the remainder of the stock. The Cholovone are perhaps entirely extinct and are certainly practically so. Their language is unknown except from one published vocabulary, which shows it to have been a Yokuts dialect not very different from the remainder of the family.

The Yokuts were divided into a large number of groups somewhat resembling small tribes. As is not uncommon in California, each of these groups had a dialect, but, what is unusual in California, each had a distinct tribal name as well. The various dialects are on the whole closely related. Their general structure and their phonetic system are virtually identical. There is also considerable similarity in vocabulary. It is probable that Indians from Kern river and from Fresno river could have conversed,

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and that they could have learned to understand each other perfectly in a short time. The greatest divergences in vocabulary were seemingly shown by small groups geographically or otherwise more or less isolated from the others, the speech of the more important tribes through the whole range of territory of the family differing only dialectically. From many tribes vocabularies have never been obtained. For this reason the grouping of the dialects can only be determined approximately. The available evidence on this point is summed up at the end of the paper. For the present it is enough to state that there were two main branches of the family, which include the more divergent dialects peculiar to small groups such as the Paleuyami of Poso Creek. The two branches have been here called the Valley division and the Foot-hill division, from the fact that the former includes nearly all the valley tribes while the latter consists principally of the hill tribes on Tule river, Kaweah river, Kings river, and Dry creek.

The differences between the vocabularies of the many dialects consist both of phonetic variations of words and of radical differences. Prominent among the variations are vocalic mutations. These seem to be similar to a scheme of vowel changes which constitutes one of the most important means in the language of expressing structure. The radical differences in words between dialects that on the whole are closely related are sometimes surprising, occurring frequently in the most common words, such as man, woman, person, house, stone, eat, and sleep. A similar tendency toward as marked a prevalence of radical as of phonetic differences exists in the dialects of other linguistic stocks in California. At least one cause of this feature is certainly the universal tabu of the names of the dead; but it is scarcely possible that this cause alone is sufficient to explain the extent of the phenomenon. Among the Yokuts the people speaking one dialect generally understand and often know the radically different words of other dialects though they do not use them.

We owe the name Yokuts to Stephen Powers. It is the word denoting person or people in the majority of the dialects of this linguistic family, but in the usage of the Indians its application is not confined to individuals of their own linguistic family.

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For this family there is, as might be expected, no native name. The exact form of the word is usually yokote, sometimes yokota. Yokoch would therefore be the most accurate general orthography, provided the vowels were given the quality of continental open o and spoken short with the accent on the first syllable. Yokut is of course only a false English singular.

As to the name Mariposan, it is sufficient to say that its sole claim to acceptance rests on the employment of a rule of priority borrowed from the system of modern biological technical nomenclature, never formally or generally accepted by anthropologists, and as undesirable to attempt to introduce into ethnology as it will be impossible to enforce in the end. It is derived from Mariposa, meaning butterfly in Spanish, the name of a California county which was not organized until after the American settlement. This county may once have contained some Yokuts Indians; but in its present smaller extent it does not cover one square mile of what is known to have been Yokuts territory.

The dialect specially investigated is that of the people calling themselves Yaudanchi, plural Yoweehani, who inhabited the foothill region of Tule river. By most of their neighbors they are called Yaulanchi. At present they constitute a small fraction of the one hundred and fifty Indians on Tule river reservation, the majority being Yauelmani, a tribe originally farther south. It has seemed best to avoid confusion by first treating this dialect alone without reference to other dialects in regard to which less complete information was obtained, and then to follow with comparative notes on such material as was obtained from these other dialects, thus avoiding duplication of presentation as much as possible. The first part of this paper, therefore, consists of a discussion of the phonetics and grammar of Yaudanchi, followed by a vocabulary and interlinear texts in the same dialect. In part second are given comparative grammatical notes on the Yauelmani dialect of Kern river. A third part of the paper deals more briefly with various other dialects, and includes a number of short texts, as well as comparisons and summaries. A comparative Yokuts vocabulary, covering all the dialects from which there is material, has been reserved for inclusion in a subsequent publication.

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121 The investigations on which this paper is based were begun in 1900 for the California Academy of Sciences, but were mainly made in 1902, 1903, and 1904 in connection with the Ethnological and Archaeological Survey of California carried on through the [122] liberal support of Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
May, 1905.

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III. OTHER DIALECTS AND COMPARISONS.

121 This third part of the present paper deals briefly and comparatively with all the Yokuts dialects on which material is available. As originally written, this part contained discussions of six or eight dialects besides Yaudanchi and Yauelmani. Subsequently an opportunity arose to make a special study of the territory, tribal divisions, and dialectic groups of the Yokuts family as a whole. This study was carried out in the early part of 1906, and included among its results about twenty vocabularies, of different dialects, available for systematic comparison. This increased body of material has made possible a determination of the principal divisions of the Yokuts family. While many dialects have become entirely extinct, it appears, from the information obtained, that none of those thus lost was sufficiently distinctive to exclude it from the several dialectic groups that have been established. In other words, these groups appear to represent all the principal divisions of the Yokuts language at the time of its first contact with white civilization, and the dialects that have been lost to differ from those known only in minor features.

128 The linguistic material obtained in the last study made was recorded at so many places, and from so many different individuals, that it was impracticable to extend it beyond vocabularies, and to enter into grammatical investigations, in the time that was available. Previous knowledge of the structure of Yaudanchi and Yauelmani however made it possible to determine certain structural features, such as the pronouns and the verbal suffixes, in many cases, and the morphological information secured in this way is sufficient, when combined with the more readily obtained lexical and phonetic results, to allow of a satisfactory general classification of all the dialects.

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DIALECTIC DIVISIONS.

As stated at the opening of this paper, the Yokuts dialects were numerous, each small tribe, of which there were about forty, possessing a dialect distinct, in at least some words, from all others. At the same time the differentiation of even the most diverse dialects was not very great. Barring two small specialized groups comprising together not more than three or four dialects, all the dialects were more or less intelligible to one another. Structurally they are very uniform, and even lexically they differ more conspicuously by the use of different stems to express the same idea than by serious modifications of the same stem. Altogether the dialects, including the two specialized groups just mentioned, fall quitely clearly into two divisions, of which the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani that have been described are typical grammatical representatives. These two divisions have been called the Foot-hill and Valley divisions.

The relation of these two divisions to the topography of the Yokuts territory is, when particularly considered, quite striking. As has been stated, the Yokuts occupied the entire southern half of the San Joaquin-Tulare Valley, besides almost all the adjacent foot-hills. They did not reach high into the mountains, which were held everywhere by Shoshoneans and, in the south, by Chumash. The present Tule river reservation, which is situated on original Yokuts territory, is farther up in the mountains than almost any other habitat of even the Foot-hill tribes, a circumstance due probably to the presence in the Tule river region of a well marked secondary range of the Sierra Nevada, which served as a natural dividing line between the two stocks. Within the Yokuts family the dialectic distinction between the inhabitants of the plains and those of the foot-hills is equally sharp. Not only that adjacent tribes living respectively in the valley and in the hills spoke differently, but, with only two exceptions, all valley tribes everywhere belonged to one division, and all foot-hill tribes to another. These two exceptions were, first, at the extreme northern end of the Yokuts territory, on the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers, where dialects belonging to the Valley division, but forming a well-marked subdivision, were spoken in

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*197 the foot-hills as well as on the plains.[1] Second, at the extreme south of the Yokuts territory, two similar and much specialized Foot-hill dialects were spoken about Buena Vista and Kern lakes. While these lakes are in the great Tulare plain, and the tribes inhabiting their shores were separated from the other tribes of the [133] Foot-hill division by the Valley tribes on Kern river and Tulare lake, yet the two lakes are comparatively close to the mountains that shut off the Tulare basin on the south; and, as these mountains, while forming part of the Coast Range, are also connected with the southern Sierra Nevada into one long continuous system swung about in a semi-circle, the habitat of this isolated lake group is not so diverse from that of the remainder of the Foot-hill division as at first appears.

*197 In connection with the sharp differentiation of dialects spoken in the valley and in the foot-hills, it is to be observed that almost 133 throughout the Yokuts territory, at least from the San Joaquin southward, the distinction is equally sharp topographically. The foot-hills end abruptly, in some cases quite boldly, at the edge of the plain, and a few yards, sometimes a single step, bring one clearly from one zone into the other. North of the San Joaquin river the physiography is usually quite different, as the foot-hills slope almost imperceptibly into the valley in a long peneplain. This is the character of the country among the northern Yokuts tribes that live in the foot-hills but speak Valley dialects. It is also the character of the country among the Miwok, the stock adjoining the Yokuts on the north, and it appears that in this family, although its range is much higher into the mountains than that of the Yokuts, there is no such marked division into Foot-hill and Valley dialects as exists in the latter.

VALLEY DIVISION.

*197 The Valley division consists of two groups, a northern, and a principal one occupying most of the valley proper.

[1] The Northern group of dialects, while showing some unity and a number of stems peculiar to itself, appears to have consisted of two sub-groups, one comprising the tribes living in the plains, the other those in the hills. The dialects of the plains sub-group were the nearer to those of the southern Valley tribes. Thus even in this Northern group, which on the whole belongs distinctively to the Valley division, the distinction between Valley and Foot-hill dialects is to some degree maintained.

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The Northern group comprised the tribes living directly on the San Joaquin and on the streams to the north, the Fresno and the Chowchilla. From this group material is extant from the Chukchansi, Kechayi, Dumna, and Chauchila dialects. The dialects of the adjacent Dalinchi, Hoyima, Heuchi, Pitkachi, Wakichi, and perhaps Toltichi, also belonged to this group.

The main Valley group extended over the territory from lower Kings river to lower Kern river, that is to say, the land bordering on these streams as well as on the lower courses of Tule and Kaweah rivers and the smaller neighboring streams, as also on Tulare Lake. This was the largest group of Yokuts dialects, and formed linguistically a close unit. It included Yauelmani, Wechikhit, Nutunutu, Tachi, Chunut, Wowolasi, and Choinok, from which there is material, besides Wimilchi, Apinchi, Telamni, Wowowali, Koyeti, Truhohayi, and probably others, all or most of which are extinct.

The Chulamni, or Cholovone, occupying a detached territory in the vicinity of Stockton on the eastern bank of the lower San Joaquin river considerably to the north of all the remaining Yokuts tribes, also spoke a dialect belonging to the Valley division. Its affinities are very markedly with Chauchila, the northernmost dialect of the Valley division, and which, while most closely allied to the Northern dialects in the foot-hills, such as Chukchansi, shows so many special affinities to the main Valley group as to make it nearly a transition between the two.

FOOT-HILL DIVISION.

The Foot-hill division occupied a smaller area than the Valley division, and the number of tribes included in it was smaller. The number of its subdivisions is however greater, and these subdivisions differ considerably more from one another. The Northern and Valley dialects of the Valley division are practically identical in structure and in phonetics, the differences being lexical. Among the four Foot-hill groups, however, there are grammatical and phonetic differences, besides lexical divergences considerably greater than those existing in the Valley division. The four foot-hill groups were spoken respectively on Kings

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river, on Tule and Kaweah rivers, on Poso creek, and at Buena Vista and Kern lakes.

The Kings River group is the northernmost of the Foot-hill division, and in every way closest to the Valley division. It is, for instance, phonetically entirely similar to the Valley dialects. Structurally it also agrees with the Valley dialects in certain respects, although other features, and these apparently more numerous and distinctive ones, ally it with the adjacent Tule-Kaweah group of the Foot-hill division. Lexically, also, it shows many affinities with both the groups of the Valley division, but the body of its words it has in common with the other Foot-hill groups. The Chukaimina, Michahai, Aiticha, and Choinimni, as well as probably one or two other tribes living on the immediate Kings river drainage, such as the Toikhichi and Kocheyali, from whom no material has been secured, formed this group. The Gashowu of Dry creek, the next stream to the north of Kings river, between it and the San Joaquin, also belonged to this group, although their dialect shows a number of special affinities with the adjacent Northern group.

The Tule-Kaweah group of the Foot-hill division comprised a small number of tribes: the Yaudanchi, Wükchamni, and possibly two or three others, such as the Gawia, Yokod, and Bokninuwad. In this group there appear for the first time the sounds ö and ü and the other impure vowels that have been encountered in Yaudanchi; also ñ, which may have been an original sound of the language lost in the greater number of other dialects; while l is changed to d. Lexically this group is more different than its northern neighbor, the Kings River group, from the Valley division, and the same is true of its grammatical features. Thus, while "his" in all Valley dialects is "amin," it is "imin" in the Kings River group, but "an" in the Tule-Kaweah group. This group is the central one in the Foot-hill division, and linguistically also intermediate between the less specialized Kings River group and the more specialized Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups, and may be regarded as typical of the Foot-hill division. Accordingly Yaudanchi, which belongs to this group, and Yauelmani, which forms part of the principal Valley subdivision, are typically representative, although they are geo-

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graphically almost in contiguity, of the two main branches of the Yokuts family. 197* 101

A much specialized group of the Foot-hill division comprised the Paleuyami of Poso creek, and possibly one or two neighboring dialects, such as Kumachisi. This small dialectic group does not show the ö and ü and impure vowels of the Tule-Kaweah group, nor has it changed l to d, although it uses ñ. Its greatest divergence is lexical. It possesses many stems peculiar to itself, and where the stems which it uses are those of other dialects, they are usually phonetically altered in Paleuyami, the vowels being particularly modified. The pronouns are as divergent as those of any Yokuts group; the verbal forms resemble those of Yaudanchi. While the distinctness of this dialectic group is considerable, it clearly forms part of the Foot-hill division.

A fourth Foot-hill group, a small body on the plains around Buena Vista and Kern lakes, seems to have consisted of only two tribes, the Tulamni, and another the proper name of which appears to have been entirely forgotten and which is therefore designated by the term Khouetwoli, meaning simply southerners, applied to it by its Yauelmani and other neighbors. This small Buena Vista Lake group is lexically still more distinctive than the Poso Creek group, especially in the number of its stems peculiar to itself. Both phonetically and structurally, however, it appears to be about as close to the remaining Foot-hill groups, especially the Tule-Kaweah, as the Poso Creek group. Like the Tule-Kaweah dialects it possesses ö and ü and ñ.

RELATIONS OF DIALECTIC GROUPS.

As can be seen, grammar, lexical content, and phonetics usually present about similar degrees of distinctiveness in these several dialectic groups, so that a natural classification presents no complexities. Such a classification is illustrated in the following three diagrams. The first of these, figure 236, indicates the degree of difference or similarity between dialectic groups by the relative linear distances between the figures representing these groups. This graphic method is of course more or less imperfect while confined to a representation in two dimensions. As 197*

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will be seen, the area occupied in this diagram by the four Foot-hill groups is much greater than that covered by the two Valley subdivisions, indicating a much greater divergence from one an-

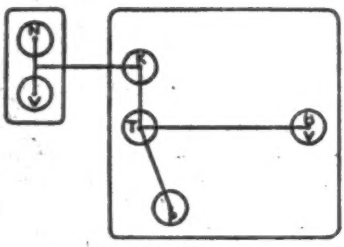

Fig. 226.

other of the former. This contrast is further accentuated by the fact that the closely similar Valley groups comprised a much greater number of dialects. If the extent of territory inhabited by the groups, and not the degree of their dissimilarity, had been indicated in this diagram, the Valley area would have been considerably larger than the Foot-hill area.

This first representation has the disadvantage that it shows only the actual degree of difference between dialectic groups, without any reference to the nature or cause of this difference.

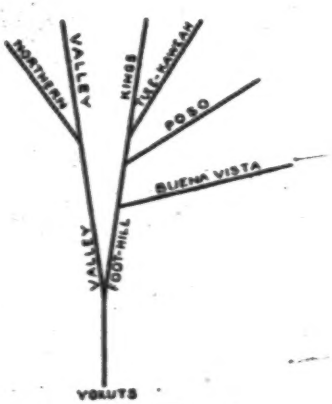

Fig. 227.

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While, for instance, the Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake dialects are perhaps more divergent even from their nearest ally, the Tule-Kaweah group, than this is different from all the other groups, even of the Valley division, yet it is not unlikely that these so divergent dialects are comparatively recent specialized offshoots from a former generalized Foot-hill branch, now represented more nearly in its early state by the Kings River or Tule-Kaweah subdivisions. With the probable original relation of the groups in view, a second diagram in the form of a tree of relationship has therefore been arranged in figure 227. This diagram expresses approximately the degree of similarity between dialectic groups by the distances between the ends of the lines representing them, while at the same time the branching of these lines illustrates the presumable origin and connection of the dialectic groups.

A third diagram, figure 228, has been arranged to show sche-

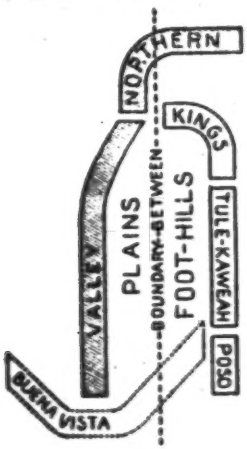

FIG. 228.

matically the relation of the dialectic groups to the Yokuts territory. If it is borne in mind that the geography of this sketch is only diagrammatic, and that the relationship of the dialectic groups is indicated by the chain of figures representing them, the meaning of the figure will be clear.

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LEXICAL RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

*197 193 192 The principal characteristic of the vocabulary of the Yokuts dialects is the great number of totally distinct stems used in different dialects for the same word. This feature is the more pronounced on account of the comparatively great uniformity of words when their stems do not change, and especially on account of the marked structural similarity pervading all divisions of the family. The diversity of dialects as regards stems becomes particularly apparent when, after having the conditions of Yokuts in mind, one turns for comparison to the larger families of the continent, as for instance Shoshonean. This family, adjoining the Yokuts on the east, has an immensely greater territorial extent, reaching from Wyoming to Southern California and from Oregon to Texas. Its dialectic groups are well marked; but as one turns the pages of a comparative vocabulary, he is impressed by the almost [illegible] variability, time and again, of the same stem, with a persistence, however, of this stem through all or nearly all the dialects. In Yokuts the stems vary much less, and in fact are often identical; but instead, new radicals constantly appear as one passes from one dialectic group to another.

*197 193 191 It is probable that a similar comparative phonetic uniformity but radical diversity characterizes many of the linguistic families of California, especially those in the large Central morphological group. This feature has been exaggerated by writers who have received impressions of the native languages by coming more or less in contact with the Indians without systematically collecting linguistic material; but, allowing for the necessary modification on this account, these impressions are nevertheless correct. Study shows conditions entirely similar to those of Yokuts to exist in Yuki, Pomo, and Costanoan. Dr. Dixon's recent study of the Shasta and Achomawi, as a result of which he has united these two groups into a single family, deals primarily with lexical similarities, but gives negative evidence of the great radical diversity that must exist in this now unified family. The miscellaneous published Maidu and Wintun vocabularies show quite clearly that the same conditions exist at least to a considerable degree in

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these two stocks; precisely to what extent, remains to be seen. All these languages, with the exception in a measure of the Shasta-Achomawi, are phonetically very simple and clear. In none of them do radical syllables appear to contain two consecutive consonants; in all full, simple, and naturally produced sounds predominate greatly over impure, unusual, or phonetically idiomatic ones. In all there is very little phonetic modification, especially of consonants, upon contact of stems in composition or derivation. Even the vowels undergo little change in this way except for some phonetic harmony in Maidu and Yokuts. It is evident that with this quality of phonetic simplicity fundamentally impressed upon the consciousness or rather unconsciousness of these languages, extensive and complicated phonetic variations such as characterize Indo-European and some of the larger American families, cannot so well occur between dialects.

While the comparatively slight diversification of dialects through alterations in them of the same radicals, is thus causally directly connected with the phonetic character of the Central Californian languages—slight as compared with the total degree of differentiation of dialects,—the origin of the corresponding opposite characteristic of great radical diversity is less easily explained even in a general way. It is probable that this radical differentiation is due largely to the general tendencies which have resulted in the diversification of the languages of California into so many families or apparent families, so far as this diversification may have arisen within California and not be due to successive immigrations of already distinct stocks. But what those diversifying tendencies are is not yet known. All that can at present be conjectured is that they are connected, as they are co-existent with, the tendencies toward phonetic and structural simplicity that are so deeply impressed upon almost all the Central Californian languages.

Borrowing of words from other families will account for the radical diversities between dialects only to a slight extent. It is becoming evident that there has been more or less borrowing between almost all the families of the Central Californian group. In a few cases the number of stems held in common by two or more stocks is in fact so large as to raise the question whether it

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*197 197 does not point to their original unity. In most cases, however, the borrowed words constitute only a small portion of the total vocabulary of any family or dialect, and, what is more, they are as often stems denoting special ideas as they are words of more primitive meaning and considerable significance in linguistic comparisons. A second cause that has no doubt been operative in *197 193 551 768 producing the differentiation of dialects, exactly to what degree is hard to determine, is the prevailing taboo of names of the dead. This in some cases probably has led to borrowing; but more frequently to the use of a stem properly belonging to a dialect and cognate in meaning to, but as a radical distinct from, the one which is temporarily or permanently dropped. This process, it will be seen, would explain a great number of diversities in Yokuts. It is however hard to imagine that this cause alone could have been productive even of only a large part of the extensive differentiation occurring. Where a single dialect shows a different radical from the other dialects of the same group, this explanation of the taboo as cause is reasonable enough; but when entire groups of dialects possess different radicals from other groups, it is evident that further factors must be taken into consideration.. And these factors still remain to be discovered.

*197 193 192 Numerous instances could be given of the disappearance of stems in one or more of the dialectic groups of Yokuts, and of the appearance in these dialects of other stems, often utterly unchanged from their forms in other groups but with a different meaning.

For instance, the usual Yokuts word for house is t-i, varied occasionally to t-e and tei. In most Northern dialects this stem disappears and is replaced by xo. The usual meaning of xo is to be or live, which it appears to possess in all dialects. In addition it has probably given rise to the continuative suffix xo found in the Valley, Northern, and Kings River groups. In the Foothill dialects this stem xo acquires the additional meaning of sit, replacing, entirely the Valley stem huloc.

The usual Foot-hill stem for sleep is eñt-im. In Paleuyami this is replaced by k'eneu, which is nothing but the usual Foothill radical k'ănu or k'aniu, meaning to lie. In the Valley dialects sleep is expressed by woi, which is also the term for lie.

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The usual Yokuts term for smoke is mod-ak. In most Northern dialects this disappears to be replaced by a stem tsehan, which reappears in Yaudanchi as teeheñ with the meaning of fog. The same stem, teeheñ, replaces the usual word for cloud, k'ädai or k'ilei, in Wükchamni, Aiticha, and Choinok, while in Tachi the stem ceel, which usually has the meaning of rain, appears for cloud. In place of this stem ceel, which is the customary one in the Valley dialects for rain, xotoo is characteristic of the Foothill dialects. But in certain special Foot-hill and Valley dialects, such as Tulamni, Gashowu, Tachi, Chunut, and Nutunutu, a stem gono, meaning fall, appears.

The usual stem for medicine-man is ant-u. The Northern dialects show a stem teic, which is the radical having in Yaudanchi, and apparently in most other dialects, the meaning of make. The medicine-man is he who makes.

In Paleuyami the usual Yokuts words for head and hair, ot-o and dool, are replaced by a form t-uk, which is nothing but the Foot-hill and Northern stem teuk, meaning in these dialects brain.

Such instances could be indefinitely multiplied, and were the Yokuts languages known more thoroughly an even greater number of radical diversities could no doubt be explained in this manner than is now the case. At the same time there is evidently a large element of diverse stems whose origin cannot be explained in this way. Such stems may also once have taken their rise through dialectic shifting of meaning, but the process and the fact can no longer be traced or determined.

To illustrate the degree of uniformity and diversity of the stems in the several dialectic groups of Yokuts, a comparative vocabulary of a few selected terms is here given. The fuller vocabularies from which this table is drawn will be presented in a future publication dealing specifically with the tribal divisions and dialects of the family.

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	Four	Nine	Woman	Nose	Tongue	Blood	Snow	Fire
Tulamni	tapaĥi	wutent	muk'ec	t-ûñak	alŝdas	hêpa	cawîyan	ucit
Khometwoli	tapaĥi	wutent	muk'ec	t-ûñak	alŝdis	hêp	cawîya	ucit
Palcupami	hetpeĥi	lik'iyi	xatneu	t-ûñik	talêpis	hîba	cawîyis	ccot
Yaudanchi	hatpaĥi	nôuip	muk'ec	t-ûñûk	tadxat-	hêpa	ponpon	ucit
Wâkchamni	hatpaĥi	nôuip	muk'ec	t-ûñûk	tadxat-	hêpa	ponpon	ucit
Chukaimina	hatpami	nôuip	mot-olhoi	t-inik	takxit-	hêpa	ponpin	ucut
Michahai	hatpami	nôuip	mot-olhoi	t-inik	madat-	hêpa	ponpin	ucut
Ailicha	hatpami	nôuip	mot-olhoi	t-inik	takxit-	hêpa	ponpin	ucut
Choinimni	hatpami	nôuip	mot-olhoi	t-inik	madat-	hêpa	ponpon	ucit
Gashowu	hatpami	nôuip	guyolum	t-inik	takxit-	hêpa	ponpon	ucit
Chukchansi	hatpami	nôuip	muk'ôla	sinik	takxas	pêyax	ûni	ocit
Kechayi	hatpami	nôuip	muk'ôla	t-inik	takxit-	pêyax	ûni	ocit
Dumna	hatpami	nôuip	muk'ôla	t-inik	takxat-	pêyax	ûni	ocit
Chauchila	hotopomi	soponhot	muk'ôla	t-inik	talkat-	pêyax	hêyau	ocit
Wechikit	hotponoi	sponhot	muk'ôla	t-inik	takxat-	pêyax	hêyau	ocit
Nutunutu	hotponoi	sponhot	muk'ôla	t-inik	takxat-	pêyax	hêyau	oci't
Tachi	hotponoi	sponhot	muk'ôla	t-inik	takxat-	pêyax	cauic	ocit
Chunut	hotponoi	sponhot	muk'ôla	t-inik	takxat-	pêyax	hêyau	ocit
Wo'lasi	hotponoi	sponhot	muk'ôla	t-inik	takxat-	pêyax	ponpon	oci't
Choinok	hotponoi	sponhot	muk'ôla	t-inik	takxat-	pêyax	ponpon	ocit
Yauelmani	hotponoi	sponhot	gâima	t-inik	takxat-	pêyax	ponpon	ocit

	Rock	Wood	Dog	Grizzly	Eat	Run	See	Cry
Yalamni	xalu'l	te'lmat	taiven	biawas	luy	kŏtŏa	o'l	hebet
Khometeroli	odoxix	hinoe	taiven	dagatmas	luy	kŏtŏa	o'al	hebet
Paleuyami	xelal	etio	teiewe	t'enei	na'	lelkin	dileu	ah-as
Yaudanchi	yakas	hŏt'se	teĕjej	ſohoo	day	duwit	ſka	ah-is
Wŏkchamni	yakas	gbyote	teĕjej	ſohoo	day	duwit	ſka	ah-is
Chukaimina	yakas	hit'le	teĕjej	nohoo	naha	lawit	ĕka	waxil
Michahai	yakas	hit'le	teĕjej	nohoo	naha	lawit	ĕka	waxil
Ailicha	yakas	hŏt'le	te'ĕeee	nohoo	naha'	lawit	ĕka	waxil
Choinimni	yakas	hit'le	te'ĕeee	nohoo	naha'	lawit	ĕka	waxil
Gashoeu	cilli	hit'le	te'ĕeee	nohoo	naha'	yawite	ĕka	waxil
Chukchansi	cilel	hit'ee	teĕxa	nohoo	xat	lhim	taie	[waxil]
Kechayi	cilel	hit'ee	teĕxa	nohoo	xat	lhim	taie	waxil
Dumna	cilel	hit'ee	teĕxa	nohoo	xat	lhim	taie	waxil
Chauchila	cilel	hit'ee	bŏue	[nohoo]	luy	lhim	tai-	[waxil]
Weckikhit	cilel	hit'ee	bŏue	nohoo	xat	lhim	eil	waxil
Xutunutu	cile'l	hit'o'e	bŏu'e	nohoo	xat	lhim	eil	waxil
Tachi	cilel	hit'ee	bŏue	nohoo'	xat	lhim	eil	waxil
Chunut	cile'l	hit'ee	bŏue	nohoo	xat	lhim	eil	waxil
Wo'lasi	yakas	hit'ee	bŏue	nohoo	xat	lhim	eil	waxil
Choinok	yukas	hit'ee	teĕjej	nohoo	xat	lhim	[eil]	[waxil]
Yauelmani	cilli	hit'ee	bŏue	nohoo	xat	lhim	eil	waxil

[1] Or hiwaeĭ?

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Of about two hundred and twenty-five common words on which there is sufficient material for comparisons in the vocabularies obtained, one hundred and fifty, or fully two-thirds, show two or more distinct radicals in the totality of dialects. Of the remainder, forty-three, or barely a fifth, go back to the same radical in all six dialectic groups. In the case of about thirty words only one stem appears in the dialectic groups from which there is material, but information is lacking in regard to one or two groups. As these are usually the specialized Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups, in which divergent radicals most frequently appear, a certain part of these thirty words would no doubt have to be added, were the information complete, to the one hundred and fifty showing two or more stems. In any case it is clear that at least two-thirds of the most common linguistic ideas, including nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and numerals, and excluding only personal and demonstrative pronouns, are expressed by diverse stems in one or more of the six structurally so closely united dialectic groups of Yokuts.

The respective proportion of words showing uniform and diverse stems is very different in the several classes of words. The figures are given in the accompanying table. It will be seen that the numerals are conspicuously uniform. Only the word for nine differs; but for this there are four distinct stems. Of next greatest uniformity are adverbial and interrogative pronominal stems. The proportion of uniform stems does not vary very much in the different classes of nouns and verbs, being twenty-seven per cent for verbs, thirty-two per cent, the highest proportion, for parts of the body; twenty-nine per cent for the names of a few of the more important artificial objects; twenty-four per cent for natural objects, including the cardinal directions and names of plants; and twenty-two per cent for mammals. Words denoting birds and animals other than mammals, indeed apparently show a very high frequency of uniform stems, amounting to about one-half, but this circumstance is due to two factors; first the accident of an unusually large number of gaps among these words in the vocabularies from the more specialized dialects; and second the greater predominance in this class than in others of onomatopoetic terms. It is notable that the proportion of

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words derived from diverse stems is greatest in nouns denoting persons and in adjectives, in both of which classes the percentage of uniform stems is nothing.

	Identical Items		*Different Stems*	*Percentage of total formed by identical stems*
	in all groups	*in all so far as known*		
Numerals	9	—	1	90
Nouns				
Persons	—	—	13	0
Parts of the Body	11	5	31	32
Artificial Objects	4	1	12	29
Natural Objects	6	3	29	24
Mammals	2	3	18	22
Birds and other Animals	3	16	20	49
Adjectives	—	—	9	0
Adverbs and Interrogatives	5	1	6	50
Verbs	3	1	11	27
Total	43	30	150	33

These proportions are of general interest in three points. First, in the comparatively small number of uniform verbal stems, showing that verb stems in this language are not more primary, original, or less subject to change than noun stems. Second, in the fact that the uniformity of stems in words denoting parts of the body is not materially greater than among nouns of other meaning, which is contrary to the usual supposition, which is no doubt often correct, that terms denoting parts of the body are less subject to alteration in dialectic differentiation than are other classes of substantives. Third, in the great uniformity existing among the numerals. This uniformity among numerals is indeed paralleled by the conditions existing in many languages, but is exceptional for California.[1]

The principal words found which go back to a single stem in all the Yokuts dialects are the following: The numerals from one to eight, ten, ear, eye, nose, mouth, eyelid, tooth, beard,

[1] In Costanoan and Yuki the numerals vary enormously in different dialects, and in Pomo, Chumash, and other families there are also great variations of a radical nature. Many of these variations are due to the composite nature of the numerals above three, and occur most frequently in languages whose numeral system is quinary or quaternary. The decimal system of Yokuts, like most decimal systems, is less transparent as to origin. It is however noteworthy that those of the Yokuts numerals that are clearly derivative, such as four and five, show as great a uniformity in the various dialects as those that go back directly to a simple radical.

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*197 192 woman's breast, bone, tears, sweat-house, boat, road, north, south, night, fire, water, panther, skunk, condor, goose, fish, louse, far, who, what, where, drink, give, and laugh. The following are radically alike in all the dialectic groups from which there is information, but may show different stems in those groups which are not represented in these words in the vocabularies: Lips, navel, ankle, faeces, urine, sinew, arrow-point, hail, star, leaf, tobacco, plains oak, manzanita, polecat, otter, beaver, bald eagle, magpie, blackbird, bluejay, mountain quail, pigeon, woodpecker, yellowhammer, road-runner, crane, kingsnake, lake trout, spider, up, and stand. As stated, most of the names of birds are onomatopoetic. The words which show radically different stems in one or more of the dialectic groups are too numerous to be listed, but include nine, person, man, woman, child, old man, old woman, father, mother, chief, friend, head, hair, tongue, neck, hand, fingernail, belly, back, foot, heart, blood, liver, brain, skin, house, bow, arrow, pipe, meat, name, west, sun, moon, day, cloud, rain, snow, smoke, ash, ice, earth, world, stream, mountain, rock, salt, wood, willow, tule, dog, bear, coyote, wolf, fox, wildcat, deer, elk, antelope, hare, rabbit, ground-squirrel, gopher, raccoon, badger, bird, eagle, buzzard, horned owl, raven, crow, humming-bird, quail, lizard, frog, fly, worm, white, black, red, large, small, good, bad, all, much, down, to-morrow, yesterday, no, eat, run, dance, sing, sleep, talk, see, kill, sit, lie, walk, and cry.

To determine the relative degrees of affinity or specialization of the several dialectic groups, computations have been made of the number of stems they respectively have and have not in common with other groups. The Kings River group of the Foot-hill division shows similarities to the Valley division, and was therefore compared with both the groups of this division as well as with the nearest group, the Tule-Kaweah, of the Foot-hill division. Excluding on the one hand words possessing identical stems in the four groups, and on the other hand words showing stems peculiar to the Kings River group, the Kings River group agrees with the Tule-Kaweah group fifty-four times and differs from it thirty-three times; and agrees with the Northern and the principal Valley groups respectively thirty-five and thirty-three times and differs from them fifty-two and forty-eight times. The

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proportion of words of the Kings River group going back to the same stem as the corresponding words in the Tule-Kaweah group is thus about sixty per cent., whereas the proportion between Kings River and the two Valley groups is only forty per cent. While the Kings River group makes the nearest approach within the Foot-hill division to the Valley division, it thus clearly belongs with the Tule-Kaweah group to the former.

Within the Kings River group the Gashowu, spoken on Dry creek, between Kings river and the San Joaquin, shows the most specialization, and many of its differentiations are in the direction of the forms found in the Northern group, which is on the San Joaquin. A computation, however, shows forty-six stems agreeing with Kings River forms and differing from Northern forms, and only twenty of opposite affinity. While Gashowu therefore has something of a transitional character, and must be regarded as the one of all the Foot-hill dialects approaching most nearly to the Valley division, it yet belongs distinctively to the Kings River group.

Chauchila, which, as the only plains dialect in the Northern group from which there is material, may be taken as representative of these, differs in a number of cases from the foot-hill dialects in this group, and in these cases almost always agrees with the forms of the main Valley group. The proportion of its agreements and disagreements with these two groups—the main Valley and the Northern as typified by the dialects spoken in the foot-hills—is nearly equal, but somewhat in favor of the Northern group by about nineteen cases to fifteen. The sub-group of Northern dialects spoken in the plains, to which besides Chauchila the isolated Chulamni of the region about Stockton is known to have belonged, as well as probably Hoyima, Heuchi, Pitkachi, and Wakichi, thus formed a true transition between the principal Valley group and the sub-group of Northern dialects spoken in the foot-hills: Chukchansi, Dalinchi, Kechayi, and Dumna. Of course all these groups and sub-groups, the principal Valley, the Northern of the plains, and the Northern of the hills, belong to the Valley division.

The Northern group, including both its plains and foot-hill sub-groups, shows the following result on comparison with the other five groups of the family:

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Northern Group.

Group	Identical stems	Different stems	Percentage of identical stems
Buena Vista	18	68	23
Poso Creek	24	47	34
Tule-Kaweah	35	68	38
Kings River	54	37	59
Valley	61	27	69

In addition there are thirty-six words in which the majority of the Northern dialects show stems peculiar to themselves. It is evident from this table that the Northern group forms part of the Valley division, that within the Foot-hill division its nearest relative is the Kings River group, to which it is contiguous; and that the Buena Vista Lake group is apparently the most specialized of all Yokuts groups.

Finally a computation was made as to the respective degrees of specialization of Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake, the most modified groups, and their relationship to other groups. Paleuyami, representing the Poso Creek group, showed thirty-eight words radically distinct from the corresponding words of other dialects, or, if words are excluded which were not represented in all groups, thirty-two. The two dialects representing the Buena Vista Lake group showed sixty-seven words of radical distinctness, or, omitting the words not fully represented in all dialects, fifty-five. The relation of these two groups to the other groups of the family is shown by the following table. In this table the thirty-two to thirty-nine and fifty-five to sixty-seven stems peculiar respectively to the two groups in question, have been included in the series of figures expressing the number of words found showing stems different from those of the other dialects.

	Buena Vista			*Poso*		
	Stems in Common	*Stems Different*	*Percentage in Common*	*Stems in Common*	*Stems Different*	*Percentage in Common*
Buena Vista				29	71	29
Poso	29	71	29			
Tule-Kaweah	36	83	30	54	55	50
Kings	24	93	21	43	67	39
Valley	18	95	15	38	66	37
Northern	12	105	10	29	78	27

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It will be seen that the proportion of stems held in common with other groups is throughout higher for Paleuyami than for the Buena Vista Lake dialects. The order of affinity is the same in both cases, namely, first with Tule-Kaweah, next with Kings River, and then with the two groups of the Valley division, the principal Valley group coming before the Northern. As regards the relation of the two dialects to each other, while the percentage of stems held in common by the two is of course the same for both of them, their position toward each other in their respective ranks of affinity is different. To the Poso dialect the Buena Vista group is among those presenting the fewest similarities, showing in fact, next to the distant Northern, the smallest number of stems held in common. This fact must be interpreted as proof of a really great divergence from each other of these two specialized groups. To the Buena Vista group, on the other hand, the Poso Creek group ranks very high in the scale of affinities, the proportion of common stems being almost as great as with the Tule-Kaweah group, which is the Buena Vista group's nearest relative. This apparently contradictory circumstance is due to the fact that the great degree of specialization of the Buena Vista group has lowered the proportion of all its other similarities, thus giving Poso Creek an unduly high apparent degree of resemblance to it. The number of stems common to the two groups and peculiar to themselves is only six. If the two groups were a common offshoot from the main Yokuts stock, and only of comparatively late differentiation from each other, the number of such stems would certainly be very much greater.

It thus appears that the Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups are independent divergences from the Foot-hill division of the Yokuts family and probably from the Tule-Kaweah group or its progenitor; that they have comparatively little in common with each other; and that Buena Vista is the more specialized of the two, differing more than any other group in its lexical content from the remaining Yokuts groups.

In all the above computations words showing the same stem in all dialectic groups have been entirely excluded from consideration.

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PHONETIC RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

The phonetic changes and equivalences of the Yokuts dialectic groups are few and simple. There are only three affecting entire groups with any frequency. These are, first a change of usual l to d, confined to the Tule-Kaweah group, within which it is universal; second the occurrence of ö and ü in the Tule-Kaweah and Buena Vista groups; and third the occurrence of ñ in the Tule-Kaweah, Buena Vista, and Poso Creek groups. It will be seen that all these phonetic specializations are confined to the Foot-hill division and that the northernmost group within this division, the Kings River, is free from them and agrees phonetically with the groups of the Valley division. While the first of these three mutations, the change of l to d, holds universally in the dialects in which it occurs, the substitution of the other sounds, ñ for n and ö and ü for e and i, is only partial in the dialectic groups in which they appear. But obversely ñ, ö, and ü are universally replaced by n, e, and i in those groups in which they do not appear.

The change of l to d in the Tule-Kaweah group requires no particular discussion. The fact that it is confined to only one of the six groups in the family, and that one a small group, shows this d to have been almost certainly a comparatively late development from a more original l. It is possible that this change of l to d is due to Shoshonean influence, for the Mono division of the Shoshonean family entirely lacks l. The case for this supposition is however not very strong, for the Kings River and Northern Yokuts groups are also in contact with the Mono and have retained l, whereas within the Tule-Kaweah group, which has made the change to d, only the tribes on Kaweah river, such as the Wükchamni, are in contact with Shoshoneans of the Mono division, the Tule river tribes, such as the Yaudanchi, having been in closer touch with the Shoshoneans of the distinct Kern River group, whose dialect contains l.

Of course d, corresponding to t as g does to k, appears in all Yokuts dialects irrespective of whether or not they possess l.

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As regards the second principal phonetic peculiarity, the appearance of ö and ü and the so-called impure vowels in the Tule-Kaweah and Buena Vista groups, it is almost certain that Shoshonean influence must be reckoned with. This ö and ü, and perhaps other impure o and u sounds, are characteristic of the Shoshonean family, being found in all its dialectic branches except the southernmost of those in southern California. The Shoshonean family occupies almost the entire territory extending along the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada, and thence south and westward through southern California to the ocean. The four purely Californian families with which the Shoshoneans come in territorial contact along this stretch, the Maidu, Miwok, Yokuts, and Chumash, all show these impure ö and ü sounds. Moreover these four families are, so far as known at present, the only ones in California that possess these sounds. The case could not well be stronger for the territorial continuity of characteristics due to interinfluence. It is rendered still stronger by the circumstance that one division of the Miwok or Moquelumnan family, which is separated from the remainder of the stock, and out of reach of direct Shoshonean influence, in the northern Coast Range of the state, appears to lack these ö and ü sounds in question. Yokuts would appear to have been influenced less than the three other stocks, since the great majority of its dialects, including many of those in the foot-hills in direct contact with Shoshoneans, lack the ö and ü. The two dialectic groups possessing ö and ü probably had closer relations with the neighboring Shoshoneans than any other groups excepting that on Paso creek. The Tule-Kaweah group was in contact with both the Mono and Kern River divisions, and the Buena Vista group in close proximity to the Kern River, Kawaiisu, and Serrano divisions, besides being in direct contact with the northeasternmost Chumash. Why the Paleuyami of Paso creek, who were probably more intimately associated with Shoshoneans than any other Yokuts group, should lack these sounds is difficult to understand. The Paleuyami dialect, however, often pronounces its vowels, especially i, e, o, and u, with a quality somewhat different from that which they have in other dialects; i and u especially are open to the point of sounding impure. In the dialects lacking ö and ü, e and i always

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replace them. The other impure vowels, which, as has been stated of Yaudanchi, are frequently only induced by ö and ü, are replaced by the ordinary simple vowels in other dialects. Whether ö and ü are original in the words in which they occur, or only subsequent modifications of e and i, is not certain; but the great preponderance of dialects lacking ö and ü, and the proximity of the dialects possessing these sounds to Shoshonean territory, makes the latter explanation more probable; so that in this respect also the Valley and Kings River dialects seem to represent a more original state of the language than the southern Foot-hill groups.

The sound ñ, occurring in the three southern Foot-hill groups and replaced in all others by n, is the most difficult to understand. The evidence for influence of other families is not very strong. Mono and the other Shoshonean divisions in contact with the Yokuts, excepting the Kern River group and some of the southeastern Mono, all lack ñ, as does Chumash. This fact would accord with internal circumstances which tend to show that this sound is an original one in Yokuts. If this is the case, the ñ occurring in the Kern River division of Shoshonean is probably due to Yokuts influence.

Whereas ñ is invariably replaced by n in the Valley and Kings River dialects, n of these dialects is replaced by ñ in only a certain number of words in the three southern Foot-hill groups. Of a hundred Valley or Kings River words containing n medially, about forty southern Foot-hill words have ñ; of one hundred containing n finally, about twenty-five in the Foot-hill group replace it by ñ; of one hundred beginning with n, not more than five or ten show initial ñ in the southern Foot-hill groups. While there is thus a marked tendency for ñ to appear finally and especially medially, it is clear that its appearance is not entirely or directly due to its position in words. An examination of its relations to the vowels of the words in which it appears also brings out no definite conclusions. There is thus no apparent internal cause for the appearance of ñ. This circumstance, coupled with the fact that a stem containing ñ and appearing in several of the Foot-hill dialects invariably shows ñ and not n in all the dialects of these groups in which it occurs, makes it probable that this

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sound goes back to the period when these three groups, and perhaps all the groups of Yokuts, were not yet fully differentiated. As the three southern Foot-hill groups are now so much specialized, they cannot have been separated very recently. It is therefore clear, first that fi is almost certainly a sound of some antiquity in the dialects in which it occurs, and second that it may have been an original general Yokuts characteristic which has been lost in those three of the Yokuts groups that now contain the greater number of dialects.

Other than these three dialectic equivalences there are none in Yokuts that are general enough to be of much comparative significance in our present knowledge of the language. In a few words l and y correspond interdialectally. Usually the Valley group shows y.

English	*Poso*	*Buena Vista*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings*	*Northern*	*Valley*
where	hell-	hel	hilo-	hilo-	hilo-	hlyo-
tooth	tilo	teli	tedi	teli	teli	teyi
white			teodod	teoyoyi	(djolol)	djolol
tule	kololis				koyis	
buzzard					Chunut:	got-ola
					Yaudmani:	kot-oya
bow			dayap	dalip		t-alap

There is some irregular accordance between t, t·, and tc. Some of the principal instances are shown in the following table. It will be seen that the Valley dialects show most tendency to palatalize t sounds formed at the teeth in other dialects. While t and t· sound much alike to the untrained Indo-European ear, they are quite distinct to the Yokuts, and it seems strange that these equivalences between them should exist. It is however significant that these equivalences of t, t·, and tc are on the one hand infrequent and on the other hand not always in the same direction, although in the case of any one word all the dialects of one group are usually a unit in regard to the sound they show.

English	*Poso*	*Buena Vista*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings*	*Northern*	*Valley*
one	yit	yit	yet	yeto	yet	yet, yeto
belly	t-ot	teote	t-ot-			tot-
bow			dayap	dalip[1]		t-alap
earth				xotol	xotsol	xot-ol
sweat			dumkun	t-umun	teumuk	t-opox
rabbit	tlu		tlu	teu	teu	teiu

[1] Some dialects: d-alip.

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*197 194 Several instances of equivalences of t, t', and tc between Yaudanchi and Yauelmani have been given in the discussion of the phonetics of the latter dialect.

There are some correspondences between s and t'. In most words there are only one or two dialects which sporadically show one of these sounds in place of the other.

[192] Mouth: cama; Gashowu, t'ama.

Eye: caca; Gashowu, Choinok, t'at'a.

Nose: t'inik; Chukchansi, sinik.

Beard: Southern Foot-hill, d'amoc, djamoc; Kings River group and Valley division, damut'.

Testicles: Tule-Kaweah, hoñoc; Valley, honot', honoc.

Badger: t'aniu, t'anau; Choinimni, sanau.

Fish: lopit'; Chukchansi, lopis.

In a few cases x and k correspond. The usual form for fingernail, xecix, becomes kecik in the Tule-Kaweah group. Horn, usually koyec, is xoyec in Gashowu and Dumna. In the Valley division the demonstrative stems indicating proximity are hi and ki, in the Kings River group of the Foot-hill division ke, and in the three southern Foot-hill groups xi, or xe and xi.

As has been said in the discussion of Yaudanchi, it is not quite clear whether s and c are two distinct sounds in Yokuts or only one. If distinct, the two are certainly much alike. There is some individual variation. Women especially are apt to pronounce s and ts much more sharply and clearly than men, from whom c and tc are more frequently heard. There is probably also some slight dialectic difference in this respect, as in certain Valley dialects, such as Yauelmani, s and ts are almost always heard.

While, as has been shown, radical differences between dialects are much more conspicuous in Yokuts than phonetic ones; and while regular phonetic mutations between dialects are but slightly developed; there yet are, as might be expected, many stems that, in an apparently irregular fashion, assume more or less different forms in the six groups and even in individual dialects. Only, these differences are neither very striking nor of such nature or degree as to have any appreciable significance in the present state of the study of the language. The kind and

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extent of these "irregular" differences are represented in the selected comparative vocabulary given. Onomatopoetic words seem particularly liable to such irregular and certainly often meaningless modification, as a few examples of names of animals will illustrate. 197* 194

Hummingbird: bèmamgute, dèmamteui, dèmamuku, dèmaiten, bèmanduts, bèmanteui, bèmax, gûmax. The accent is in all forms on the first syllable. 197* 194 192

King-snake: godoñkid = golonkil, golonki, goloiki, golonti, golwonti, golontil.

Species of lizard: kondjedja, kondjedjwi, kondjodjuwi, kondjedji, kondjowi.

There are a few cases, but only a few, where the initial consonant of stems becomes lost or altered in certain dialects, so much so that the identity of the stem could not be asserted were it not for transitional forms in other dialects. The principal instances observed of this nature are the following.

Forehead: Valley, pit-iu; Paso Creek, peleu; other Foot-hill groups, tiliu.

Tongue: Northern and Valley, talxat·; Tule-Kaweah, tadxat·; Paso, talapis; Buena Vista, aladis; Kings, madat·.

Belly: Northern, balik; Kings, olok'; Gashowu, luk'in.

Brains: Northern, Tule-Kaweah, Buena Vista, teoga, teok; Chauchila, oka; Kings, hoga; Valley, hop, hup.

Saliva: Paso, kelyi; Buena Vista, gălăyi; Kings kilet·; kelit·; Choinok, helwat; Northern, hedjil; Gashowu, Chauchila, hexil.

Bear: Dumna uyun; Chauchila, Tachi, ului; Choinok, Yauelmani, moloi.

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS OF DIALECTS.

As has been said, a comparative grammatical examination of the Yokuts dialects closely corroborates their classification on lexical grounds. There is evident the same primary distinction between Foot-hill and Valley dialects, with a greater diversity in the former and with particular specialization in the Paso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups. The structural features most readily available for comparison are, first, the pronouns, 197* 193

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*197 193 especially the personal ones; and, second, the verbal suffixes of mode and tense.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

In at least seven-eighths of the Yokuts dialects the personal pronouns are remarkably uniform, the extent of the variations being shown by the two full tables previously given of the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani forms. In the great mass of dialects there are no variations of moment from these forms, and the more elementary forms, such as the subjective, objective, and possessive of the singular of the first two persons, na, ma, nan, mam, nim, and min, are absolutely identical. The third person shows more variation. In all dialects it lacks subjective and objective singular forms. The possessive, his, in all Valley dialects is amin, clearly related through analogy to the possessive of the second person, min. In the Foot-hill division the Kings River dialects show the form nearest the Valley form, namely, inin. The Tule-Kaweah group has an, made familiar from Yaudanchi, while the Poso Creek and Buena Vista forms are not known. There is a further difference between the Valley and Foot-hill divisions in that the former possesses subjective forms of the third person in the dual and plural, amak and aman, which at least the Tule-Kaweah group of the Foot-hill division lacks. These subjective Valley forms of the third person are, however, not true pronouns. They are not used as the equivalent of English "they," but merely as an indication of number, frequently with nouns as well as verbs, so that they equal in function the Yaudanchi number-particles tik and tin.

The Poso Creek and Buena Vista groups show the greatest peculiarities in the forms of their pronouns. Their singular subjective and objective forms are indeed identical with those of all other dialects: na, ma, nan, and mam; but their possessive forms vary from the usual ones,—principally through the introduction of a k sound into the forms for the first person. Poso Creek says gen for "my," Buena Vista nik. Poso Creek has men for the possessive of the second person, while the Buena Vista group has the usual min. It will be seen that while the forms used in these two groups vary from all others, and from

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each other, there yet is within each dialect a parallelism of form between the first and second persons, similar to the parallelism existing in all other dialects: Poso Creek, gen and men; Buena Vista, mik and min; other groups, nim and min.

The k appearing in the possessive pronoun of the first person of these two southernmost groups is interesting because it would seem to be due to the influence of extraneous linguistic stocks. K is the radical element expressing the first person in the Chumash languages, with which the Buena Vista dialects were in immediate territorial contact. K is also found in the pronouns of the first person in the Kern River branch of the Shoshonean family, the branch of the family with which the Paleuyami of Poso creek were undoubtedly in closest relation. The general Shoshonean radical indicative of the first person is n, which appears in the Kern River dialects with the addition of k: nögi or nöki, instead of usual nä. It is scarcely to be supposed that the two southern Yokuts groups directly borrowed their k pronominal forms from the adjacent Shoshonean and Chumash stocks. Such borrowing is both highly improbable on general grounds and unlikely because these Yokuts dialects show the k only in the possessive pronoun, the subjective and objective elements of the first person being the usual Yokuts n. It is rather to be imagined that acquaintance with languages of contiguous families, and the unconscious influence of these, stimulated or reawakened a tendency that led to the use of these k forms in the affected Yokuts dialects. While such tendencies may seem intangible and vague, and it must be admitted that we as yet know practically nothing of their real nature, there nevertheless is evidence that they existed. It is well known, for instance, that the great majority of the numerous linguistic families of North America have either n or m or both for the roots of their pronominal stems of the first and second persons. This wide-spread agreement can scarcely be interpreted as an indication of original relationship of these families, many of which are as utterly distinct in fundamental structure and general phonetic character as they are totally diverse in their words. Neither can the phenomenon be attributed to accident, for the number of cases is far too great. It can also scarcely be imagined that pronominal

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forms are above all others particularly liable to direct borrowing in American languages. It is accordingly necessary to conceive of a certain deep-seated tendency, not yet well understood, which either results in the production of pronominal forms in n and m by most stocks, and their adherence or reversion to such forms; or which renders most stocks particularly susceptible to external influence in the phonetic shaping of their pronominal stems. Conditions are certainly very remarkable in California as regards this wide-spread uniformity, as has been previously pointed out.[1] Of twenty-one families now recognized, seventeen or eighteen have m as the primary constituent of their pronominal stem denoting the second person; nine, or nearly half, show n in the first person, and four show k. The distribution of these four families is also instructive. They are Miwok, Costanoan, Salinan, and Chumash, occupying a continuous area in central California practically enclosing the Yokuts territory. As to these four families must be added the contiguous southernmost dialectic groups of Yokuts, and the also contiguous Kern River Shoshonean dialectic group; and as the sound k does not elsewhere in California appear as an expression of the first person, except that in Yurok, far in the north, it is used in combination with n in the form nek; it is evident that this occurrence of k to denote the first person is not accidental, but due to the interinfluence of territorially adjacent stocks. Even if it is held that this argument is weakened by the probable superficiality of the diversity of the families at present recognized as distinct in California, the explanation of this k as due to an original identity of the several stocks possessing it, cannot be accepted, for while some or many of the Californian linguistic families may ultimately prove to be related, this can safely be affirmed not to be true of the stocks here in consideration. Chumash and Salinan are in morphological type and phonetic character quite distinct from Costanoan, Yokuts, Miwok, and the remaining families of California.[2] The large and well defined Shoshonean family can also certainly not be regarded as genetically related to the minor and diverse Californian stocks. It is therefore clear that at least

[1] Amer. Anthr., n. s. V, 17, 1903.
[2] Ibid., 18.

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part of the occurrence of k stems to denote the first person in California is due to the influence upon each other of distinct but geographically adjacent families. 197* 193

DEMONSTRATIVES.

The demonstrative forms are also a ready means of distinguishing the Yokuts dialectic groups. The indefinite demonstrative ta, expressive of reference rather than of distance, but when referring to distance indicating remoteness and not proximity, seems to be used in all dialects without variation; but the forms of the several stems more or less definitely expressing distance vary phonetically. The usual stem of the demonstrative specifically indicating remoteness without invisibility is ka, found probably in all the dialects of the Valley division and in the Tule-Kaweah group of the Foot-hill division. In the Kings River group of the Foot-hill division the similar form gai is used. The two southern Foot-hill groups show somewhat aberrant forms, Poso Creek ko, and Buena Vista xuntu. The demonstratives indicating propinquity are sometimes one and sometimes two in number, but in the latter case always quite similar in form. The fundamental form is perhaps ki, corresponding to the ka indicating remoteness. The Valley division shows two forms, hi and ki, the former apparently indicating greater nearness. The principal Valley differs from the Northern group in using the hi stem in reduplicated form. In the Foot-hill division the Kings River group has ke. The three southern groups of this division all show xi, with the addition at least in Tule-Kaweah of xe. The relation of these forms indicating proximity may be briefly expressed thus: xi forms in the three southern Foot-hill groups are replaced by ki and hi forms in the most northern Foot-hill group and in the Valley division.

VERBAL SUFFIXES.

The structural factors most important in the classification of the Yokuts dialects are the tense and mode suffixes of the verbs. Prominent among these, both on account of the uniformity with which it coincides with the divisions and on account of the readiness with which it is obtained in securing information, is the

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imperative. When asked to translate an English verb stem into their language, the Yokuts, like people of many other linguistic stocks, are likely to give the imperative form. Accordingly, once the imperative ending is known, almost any Yokuts vocabulary containing half a dozen verbs, no matter how inaccurately rendered, is almost certain to be sufficient to show to which division of the family the dialect in question belongs. The Valley dialects throughout use a form -ka, while the Foot-hill dialects all lack any suffix. So far as known this rule suffers no exceptions. The -ka ending, as has been brought out in the discussion of Yaudanchi, does not, like the usual a-suffixes, affect the quality of the stem vowels of the verb. There is therefore some reason for regarding it as being an enclitic particle in the inward consciousness of the language, rather than a true suffix. The -ka ending itself is subject to but little dialectic modification, other than becoming -ga in some dialects, or lightening its vowel until its form is almost -k. Of the known dialects Chauchila alone shows a tendency to vary the a of this ending to harmonize with the vowels of the stem of the verb: -ka, -ku, -ki, etc.

The true tense and mode suffixes of Yokuts are of two kinds. First those which like the future and present -in, the reflexive -wic, and the agentive -ite, appear to be found in all dialects with no alteration except slight phonetic modification; and second the remainder, of which each is confined to certain groups of dialects. Of this class the most prominent are the past suffixes -ji and -ac and the continuative -ad or -al, which are characteristic of the Foot-hill division, and the past -an and continuative -xo characteristic of the Valley division. The scant Poso Creek material does not show the continuative -al, but on the other hand there is no evidence that it is absent. The only exception to the general appertainment of these suffixes respectively to the two divisions is that the Kings River group lacks the -al continuative of the other Foot-hill groups and replaces it by the typical Valley form -xo. In addition to these two classes of suffixes corresponding to the two divisions of the family, there is a verbal form -am, or -mi, of a significance not yet determined, which is characteristic of the Northern and probably also the Kings River dialects, but is lacking in the main Valley and the Tule-Kaweah group.

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A means of determining whether any dialect belongs to the Foot-hill or Valley division, with apparently as much certainty and readiness as by the imperative suffix, is furnished by the negative, no. All Valley dialects have the form ohom, all Foot-hill dialects k'amu, except that the Buena Vista group shows u^{a}hu^{a} or a^{a}ha^{a}.

COMPOSITION AND DERIVATION.

In the discussion of Yaudanchi a particular point was made of the apparent scarcity of evidences of composition and derivation in this dialect, although many of its words were of several syllables and of a length and appearance which in other linguistic families would be almost prima facie evidence of their derivative nature. The statement to this effect was written when but few of the dialects of the family were known to the writer. As the subsequent accessions of material have brought the number of dialects represented by considerable vocabularies to more than twenty, and as these have been systematically compared, it might be expected that evidence of the composite structure or derivative nature of many stems had thereby been obtained to a sufficient degree to necessitate a modification of the statement previously made. This is however not the case, for the collation of the various vocabularies not only fails to explain the origin of the Yaudanchi words, but makes it clear that derivative processes are of small significance in the etymology of all the branches of the Yokuts family. Three or four derivative suffixes are indeed visible in the compared vocabularies; but these suffixes are nearly all derivable from an inspection of the Yaudanchi material alone, are of indefinite significance, are applied to a comparatively small number of words, and make the original meaning of the stems to which they are appended, many of which are polysyllabic, no clearer than before. As has been said before, the lexical differentiation of the Yokuts dialects takes place primarily through the employment of radically different stems, and secondarily through minor phonetic modifications which are clearly not of structural or derivational significance. Etymological differences between dialects are so few because derivation is a factor of negligible significance in Yokuts.

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A striking instance of the failure of dialectic comparisons to shed any light on the origin of Yokuts words is furnished by the numerals four and five. These words are undoubtedly derivative, four, hat-pañi or hoto-ponoi, being certainly formed from poñoi or ponoi, two, and yit-einil, five, from yet, one. This being the case, it might be supposed that in so great a number of dialects as have been examined, and these belonging to six distinct groups, there would be a certain number which showed forms for four and five containing the elements two and one in combination with other elements than the dialects previously known, or containing the same elements in a phonetic form that would make them identifiable with stems of known significance. This supposition is however not a fact. The twenty-one dialects show forms for these two numerals that are in their elements absolutely identical and that present variations which are clearly only phonetic, that is to say, in themselves meaningless. It is therefore clear that, while it cannot be doubted that these two words are composite in origin, this original composition yet goes back to an earlier stage of the language; and that in its present stage, as proved by their unity in the most diverse dialectic groups, these composite forms are regarded and treated by the language purely as radical stems. The same fact is emphasized by the words for fourteen and fifteen, which are formed from the abbreviated stems for four and five by the addition of the suffix -am. As stated in the presentation of Yaudanchi, the abbreviation of these two numerals before this decimal suffix runs counter to their etymology, the second element of each being, as it were, deliberately cut in two and the final portion lost before the suffix. Hat-pañi becomes hate-p-am, and yit-einil yit-e-am. These two forms hate-p-am and yit-e-am have been found not only in Yaudanchi but in five other dialects, representing all the principal groups of the family; and their forms in these six dialects are, except for variations in the quality of their vowels, absolutely identical. Here again it is clear that the derivational process has long since become crystallized, and that the derived form is treated by all dialects alike as a radical unit. In other words, while there is some etymological derivation in Yokuts, the process is a completed rather than an active one, and the fluidity of

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elementary parts and the possibility of their free combination so characteristic of many American languages, is entirely wanting. 197*

The following are the principal derivational suffixes apparent in the comparative vocabularies. 193

-atc, -itc, diminutive; Yaudanchi -hate, apparently a plural of adjectives when used substantively. 197*

akd-ate, child in Michahai, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Dumna, from axid, daughter, child. 193 192

got-etc, small in Northern dialects, from got-i, large.

mets-otc, small in Buena Vista, from stem met-, large.

gu-itc, beads in Wükehamni.

-ic, -uc:

Tail: Foot-hill, gut; Valley, gut'-uc.

Liver: dip; Kings River, dalap-ic.

Arrow: t'uy-oc; t'ui, shoot.

Woman: Valley, muk'-èla; Foot-hill, muk'-ec.

Tongue: talxat-; Poso and Buena Vista, talap-is, alad-is.

Thigh: k'oh-ic, k'ow-i, gow-i.

Sun, moon: Valley, o'p; Kings and Tule-Kaweah, up-ic, up-uc.

Wood: hit'-ec; hit'-el, ash.

Ash: Tule-Kaweah and Poso, hap-ac.

Sand: Tule-Kaweah and Kings, wak'-ac.

Digger-pine: ton, Tule-Kaweah, toñ-ac.

-il, -ul:

awaic-il, awate-il, chin; some dialects, awac, awadji.

teimec-il, eyebrow; some dialects, d-imit-.

gepe-il, shoulder; some dialects, gapsai.

kuyo-c-il, knee; kuyo, ankle.

cayat-el, foot, in Paleuyami.

haep-el, Choinok; haepay-al, Yauelmani; has-ooki, Tachi: lungs.

getañ-il, gatsiñ-il, bow, in Paleuyami and Buena Vista.

humn-ul, quail.

hit'-el, ash; hit'-ec, wood.

-ui, -tcui:

Navel: teutkue; Buena Vista, tsotus; Yaudanchi, tcudoc-ui.

Knee: upue; Choinimni, poc-ope-ui.

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*197 Kidney: talliuxai; Tachi, tallamg-ui.

193 Hummingbird: bèmamguta, etc.; bèmam-te-ui, dèmam-te-ui; Tachi, ho-ho-te-ui.

192 Butterfly: wal-ap-te-ui, dab-â-dap-te-ui; wal-wal, butterfly, dap-dap, leaf.

-na:

Snake sp.: delits-delits-na.

Hummingbird: kum-kum-na.

Horned owl; hi-hi-na.

The most conspicuous indications of composition or derivation other than by these suffixes are found in the following words:

Four: hat-pañil, hoto-ponoi; poñoi, ponoi, two.

Five: yit-cinil, yit-icnil; yit, yet, one.

Man: Buena Vista, kohote; Tule-Kaweah, kouhte-un; Kings, bute-on.

Woman: Foot-hill, muk'-ee; Valley, muk'-èla

Girl: Northern and Valley dialects, various, gai-na, woman, girl, gai-ta, girl, little girl.

Old man, old woman: mox-elo, mok-djo, mok-nite, mote-ate, mote-odo; Poso, nem-halatei, nem-a, large.

Father: no-pop; Tule-Kaweah, na-tet; no- is possibly originally the possessive pronoun of the first person; cf. mother, no-om, na-joj.

Sweat-house: moe; Poso, muc-añ.

Pipe: baum, etc.; Poso, bam-uñ; other dialects, cuk-ut, cuk-mai.

Belly: balik, olok', luk'-in.

Sun, moon, day; o'p, op-odo, up-ie, op-di, ob-ol-iu.

Snow: ponpon; some Valley dialects, hayau; Poso and Buena Vista, caway-an.

Large: Tule-Kaweah, met-; Valley, mat--ek, may-ek.

Jackrabbit: Poso, tok-coc; Yaudanchi and Yauelmani, tuk-uyun; tuk, ear.

Rabbit: tiu, teiu; Poso, yem-tsou,

Flat tule: got-; Poso, gata-wei; Buena Vista, gata-iwi.

Dog: tece-ee; Northern, tee-xa.

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REDUPLICATION.

The failure of extended comparative material to show any considerable processes of derivation by composition or affixation in Yokuts is repeated in the similar failure of this material to throw much light on processes of derivation by reduplication. A considerable number of duplicated and reduplicated words are evident, but in a very great majority of the cases these retain their reduplicated form, often with more or less phonetic modification, through all the dialectic groups. Where such a reduplicated form is not shown by one or more groups, it is usually the stem itself that fails to appear in these groups, not the reduplication of the stem. Dul-ul, mountain, and ine-ie, good, exist in these reduplicated forms in all dialects in which they appear at all.[1] In the dialects in which they are not found, they are replaced by the entirely distinct stems lomit and met-, or similar forms. It is evident that reduplication like composition is no longer an active word-forming process in the language, but that the forms which it has produced are usually treated by the language as simple stems.

Of course the purely grammatical process of reduplication in the numeral and verb to express distribution and iteration, which can be applied at will to any stem of these two parts of speech provided that its significance allows, is of a different character from the etymological reduplication here discussed, and must not be confused with it.

The etymological reduplication found in the Yokuts dialects takes several different forms. First there is simple duplication, usually of monosyllabic stems, as in dapdap, leaf. Second there is a form resembling this, in which the first syllable of a disyllabic or polysyllabic word is repeated, including at times the consonant following as well as preceding the vowel of the duplicated syllable. If the words in which this form of reduplication occurs can be regarded as composite, then the first monosyllabic constituent of the words is entirely repeated, and the process must

[1] At the same time there are found such unreduplicated forms of the same stems as the objective inie-ya and the locative dul-au. Similar forms, such as sil-lu from sil-il and sat-asdawic from sat-et, are evidence of some tendency especially for final reduplication to disappear before suffixation.

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be considered as a duplication of an entire stem or word-element. If however such words are not composite, then the process is to be regarded as merely a phonetic reduplication of the first syllable of a word. Such forms as pud-pud-ui and yip-yap-ut- are examples. Third, there occurs a process that has the appearance of final reduplication. This differs from the two preceding methods in that the reduplicated portion of the word seems never to contain more than one consonant, whether this be initial or final. Thus we have ine-ie and wile-li. Fourth and finally, there are a few words showing duplication or initial reduplication with a shifting of the vowel of the second of the reduplicated syllables to a position between the two duplicating syllables. Thus poe-o-pe-ui, knee, undoubtedly related to a form upue found in other dialects; and dab-ă-dap-teui, butterfly, probably related in origin to dap-dap, leaf. This form of reduplication also occurs, as has been mentioned, in connection with grammatical reduplication in the verb. It is infrequent as an etymological factor. Reduplication of the first two types, or full duplication and initial reduplication, is the most frequent, thirty-five or forty instances having been noted, mostly of the first of these two classes. Final reduplication has been found in about twenty-five words.

Duplication.

Man: nò-no, V, N.
Eye: ea-ea.
Heart: hon-hon, hoñ-hoñ.
Arrow: g'el-g'el, P.
Earthquake: yel-yal.
Cloud: p'in-p'ai, BV.
Snow: pon-pon.
Ice: gañ-geñ, P.
Ocean: hòu-ho, N.
Leaf: dap-dap.
Duck sp.: k'ui-k'ui.
Snake sp.: dèlam-dèlam
delits-delits-na.
Butterfly: lau-lau.
wal-wal.

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Worm: k'ewas-k'ewas, N. 197*
wek-wik, V.
Hawk sp.: wate-wate. 193
Mallard duck: wat-wat-. 192
Duck sp.: con-cen, P.
Duck sp.: ox-ox, BV, ox-ux-um, P.
Road-runner: oi-ui.
Goose: la'-la'.
Bluejay: t-ai-t-ai, etc.
Horned owl: him-him, etc.
Magpie: otc-otc.
Walk: tiu-tiu, P.

Initial Reduplication.

Lips: yip-yap-ut-, yibebit-, yebit-.
Lower leg: pud-pud-ui, bul-bul-ui.
Long beads: tca-tca-yal, BV.
Thunder: mi-mi-at-.
Stand: wo-wu-l.
Turtle: koi-koy-ot.
Bird: we-wu-tsoi, V, wi-wi-tsi, P.
Horned owl: hi-hi-na, him-him.
Small owl: gu-go-tcup.
Hummingbird: kum-kum-na, K, ho-ho-teui, Taehi.
Duck sp.: ox-ux-um, P, ox-ox, BV.

Final Reduplication.

Father: no-p-op, na-t-et.
Mother: na-j-oj.
Throat: so-lo-lo, K, N.
Fingers: xal-al-nit, xal-il-it, K; xapal, V, T, BV.
Foot: dad-at- (?).
Mountain: dul-ul, dul-au; gop-up-at, BV.
Plain: wal-al, V.
Rock: sil-il, N, V, P; odox-ix, BV.
Tule sp.: kol-ol-is, P, koy-us, koy-is, N.
White: djol-ol, teoy-oi.
Good: ine-ie.
Lie: ban-an-.

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*197 Dog: tcee-ee, FH.
193 Weasel: eam-im, N, K.
193 Duck sp.: teo-gu-gu, to-gu-gu, V.
192 Lizard sp.: kon-dje-dja, etc.
wi-le-li, wu-lo-lu.
Frog: o-gu-ku.
Butterfly: wo-ge-gi.
Woodpecker: pal-ad-at, pal-ag-ak.
Small owl: eo-li-li.
Ground owl: we-dji-dji.
Hummingbird: bem-am-guta, etc.
Dove: up-la-li, up-ya-yi.

Reduplication with Change of Vowel.

Knee: poe-ope-ui, K.
Wood-rat: dum-ô-dum-ute, T.
Snake sp.: eap-â-eip-ite, lap-a-lip-it.
Butterfly: dab-â-dap-teui.

SUMMARY.

*197 For convenience, the principal phonetic and grammatical differences and correspondences of the six dialectic groups are reviewed in the following table.
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	Foothill				Valley	
	Buena Vista	*Poso Creek*	*Tule-Kaweah*	*Kings River*	*Northern*	*Valley*
l	l	l	d	l	l	l
ñ	ñ	ñ	ñ	n	n	n
ö, ü	ö, ü	e, i	ö, ü	e, i	e, i	e, i
Imperative	—	—	—	—	-ka	-ka
Preterite	?	-ji	-ji	-ji	—	—
Preterite	-ac	?	-ac	-ac	—	—
Preterite	—	—	—	—	-an	-an
Continuative	-al	?	-ad	—	—	—
Continuative	—	—	—	-xo	-xo	-xo
Fut., Partic.	-in	-in	-in	-in	-in	-in
Reflexive	?	?	-wic	-wic	-wic	-wic
Agent	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite	-ite
My	mik	gen	nim	nim	nim	nim
Thy	min	men	min	min	min	min
His	?	?	an	imin	amin	amin
This	xi	xi	xo	ke	hi	hihi
This			xi		ki	ki
That	xuntu	ho	ka	gai	ka?	ka
That	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta	ta
Where	hel	heli-u	hide-u	hile-u	hile-u	hiye-uk
No	a'ha'	k'ami	k'amu	k'amu	ohom	ohom

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NS29 Yokuts NS29
Paleuyami

THE VARIOUS DIALECTS.

PALEUYAMI.

Phonetically, Paleuyami is much specialized. Its vowels particularly have been affected, and with an apparent perversity that has an aspect of unconscious deliberateness. Words containing two similar vowels in other dialects, often have one altered in Paleuyami so as to contrast with the other: ilik becomes elik. On the other hand in a smaller number of words diverse vowels are assimilated in Paleuyami, usually to i: te'olipi becomes te'ilipi. Metathesis of vowels is frequent: xeeix becomes xiex. Finally there are simple changes of single vowels. The most frequent of these changes is to e, most often from a or i. The contrary changes, to a and i, are few; o, or i following o, sometimes becomes a, and e followed by a becomes i. Between o and u, change to the former is more frequent, just as e is favored over i. U followed by i becomes o followed by o.

Similar vowels differentiated in Paleuyami:

yet-sili	yit-sinil
t-eñik	t-inik, t-äñäk
piete	piie, pööte
elik	ilik
xelul	silil
tibet-	tihit-
t-epid	t-ipdi, teipit
piel	pi'l
teieue	teeeee
t-iel	t-eel, t-öod
hoñheñ	hoñhoñ, honhon

Different vowels assimilated in Paleuyami:

te'lilipi	te'olipi
miuits	menit-
wihielt	wehecit, wöhöelt
wiwitai	wewutsoi
opt-o	apt-u

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Paleuyami

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Metathesis of vowels in Paleuyami:

menue	munae
t·eiu	t·ieu
weteip	witeep
teimicel	teimecil
tilei	teli
xisex	xecix
ecll	leel, ëead
k'ell	k'ilei, k'ëdai
isen	esin, ösën
heliu	hileu
etla	hit'ce, hët'se, hit'le
wexi	wëxe, wixe
dibek	tepik·, töpük

Paleuyami changes to e:

aextel	aitxil
keiu	kaiu
wiwel	wowul
wa'en	wa'n, wan
k'eneu	k'aniu, k'ënnu
det·i	dot·i
wetek	watak
eñt·eu	ant·u, añt·u
ceca	caca
cema	cama
gepeil	gapcai
keyu	kuyu, kuyo
meñal	manal
xowet·	xowot·
djameo	d·amoo
hetpeñl	hatpañl, hotoponl

Paleuyami changes to o:

tok	tuk
got	gut, gut'se
xo	ka
taoyotis	teayatse, teoitoe
xoeom	xueim, xueum
opoe	upie, upue
ocot	ueit, ueut, oeit

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Paleuyami

Paleuyami changes to i:

hiba	hèpa, hŏpa
hig'a	hèxa
gixa	gèxa, k'ŏxa
yit	yet
k'ami	k'amu

Paleuyami changes to u:

nut	not, notu
mut·ka	mod·ak
humñol	humnul

Paleuyami changes to a:

lopat·	lopit·
lomat	lomit
comat	comot
xotai	xotoi
gata-wei	got·

Grammatical Forms.

Pronouns:

S 1	na, na'en, poss. gen.
S 2	ma, ma'en, poss. men.
D 1	mak
P 1	mai

Demonstrative forms:

xi, xiu, xen, xien; ko, xota, go-awe; ta, ta-in (or ta-en, his).

han-ta, what?

wat-entex, who?

Verbal forms:

hiem toyon-si, it is (already) night.

na-an ti ma, will you eat?

taaa na na-an, I will eat.

hel ma tawaca, are you thirsty?

ama na tawaca, I am not thirsty.

heliu ma tanâwi, where are you going?

k'eneu-ji, xai-si.

loih-in.

wod-oyits, hatam-its, dancer, singer.

ui-ui-wil-eits, road-runner.

ho', wiwel, tiutiu, sit, stand, walk!

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Paleuyami
Tulamni
Khometwoli

*197 Miscellaneous:
193 kumul-tein, all; waxe-tein, many.
192 notci-gen, my friend.
tok-nen, your ear.
citeil-hal, deer.

BUENA VISTA GROUP: TULAMNI AND KHOMETWOLI.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	mik
S 2	ma	mam	min
D 1 ex.	nak		
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 ex.			nimak
P 1 in.	mayi		
P 2	man		
P 3	aman		

Aman, they, is a Valley form. Yaudanchi lacks it.

Demonstratives:

xi, this, plural xi-san; xi-ta, here, xi-ten, there.

xuntu, that, plural xunto-s-an, xuntu, xonto, and xata were also given as equivalents of Yauelmani ke-in, this one's, his.

ta, that.

han-wil, what?

Forms of nouns:

sas, sas-al, eye, probably eyes, in other dialects saca.

suk'-al, "ear," probably ears; in other dialects tuk.

This -al is evidently the occasional Yauelmani plural-collective suffix of inanimate nouns -hal.

Cases: locative, hulas-iu, taidjests-iu, teapan-au; possessive, got-eya-n.

Verbal forms:

lui', eat! (imperative).

luy-on, biy-en.

luy-os, tawate-ac.

has-l, tana-al, tawate-al, xahayaw-al, oho'-l, gune-al.

na'las-ite, hiwet-ate.

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NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchamni
Chukaimina and Michahai
Aïtícha

WUKCHAMNI.

Except for some lexical differences, this dialect is practically identical with Yaudanchi. 197 X 193 192

Pronouns: na; nim, min, an.

Demonstratives: xi; ka; ta-fi; han.

Adjectives: puunun, pudjidj, little.

Nouns: t-i, t-eu.

Verbs: wokiy-ad, tan-ãad, taut-a-d; daid-ji; duy-on; hai-wue, hoyo-woe; cañ-cañ-wid-eite, kux-wud-eite.

The locative mam-au, at you, is used in the phrase xi-mamau, this, or here, near you. A form xi-ne-u, here, differs from Yaudanchi xe-u, but has northern analogues.

CHUKAIMINA AND MICHAHAI.

Pronouns: na, nim; ma, mam, min; imin; mak.

Demonstratives:

ke, this, locative keu, keua, possessive kin.
kai, gai, that, locative kau, gau, possessive kan.
ta, that.
han, what?

Nouns:

nihin-au, dul-au.

Numerals:

yete-am, eleven, poted-om, twelve, etc., as in Yaudanchi. [802]

Verbs:

tah-an, nah-an, xo-on.
tawat-a, dead.
yuwanwaca, marry.
hayu-ac, waxal-ac, tawat-ac.
laha-ite, moccasins.

AITICHA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma		min
S 3			imin

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Aitichā
Choinimni
Gashowu

*197 Demonstratives:
193 ke, this, objective ki-n.
192 gai, that, possessive ka-n.
ta, that.
han, what?

Verbs:
hoitcuc, tawat-a-c.
ukun kin, drink this!

CHOINIMNI.

Pronouns:
nim-a, my [*sic*]; min-a, thy [*sic*]; imin, his.

Demonstratives:
ke, this, ke-u, here.
gai, that, ganin, there.
ta, that, tau, there.
han, what?

Numerals:
[804] The suffix -am is used for eleven to nineteen as in Yaudanchi.

Verbs:
wan-ăc, elk-ac, xahi-ac, ikă-ac, taut-a-c, wowol-ac, k'anuw-ac, waxal-ic.
xoot-xo, dau'hali-xo.

GASHOWU.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	
S 3			amin
D 1 ex.			nimgin
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 in.	mai		main
P 2	man		
P 3	aman		

Cf: wixi aman dumna, many the (lit., they) Dumna.

The form for his, amin, is that of the Valley and Northern dialects; the Kings River dialects have imin.

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Gashowu
Kechayi
Dumna

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Demonstratives:

ke, this, obj. kin, poss. kèin, loc. ke (for keu?).
gai, that, loc. gani, ganiu.
ta, that.
han, what?

Numerals:

yeteam, eleven; potedom, cophiom, hatcpam, yit-team, teol-pom, nomteom, munteom, nonpom, twelve to nineteen.

[802]

Verbs:

tah-an.

wan-aac, wan-ci; ika-ac, eka-ci; hatam-ic, xahi-ac, hoito-ic, tauta-c, xoo-oc, k'anuw-ac, heut-ic, waxal-ic, ukn-ac, nah'-ac, pan-ac, lok'ŏn-oc (luk'in).

daw'hali-xo.

haya-wic-ac, teaplu-wic.

kam-ini, teic-ini.

xo-mi, wowul-mu, banana-mi.

KECHAYI.

Of the few pronominal forms obtained, the one of most interest is amungun, their.

Demonstratives found were hi, plural hi-e-in, locative he-u, and gi, locative g-eu.

The imperative shows the ending -ka or -ga.

DUMNA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	min
S 3			amin
D 1 in.	mak		
P 1 in.	mai		
P 2	mān		

Demonstratives:

hi, this; heu, here.
ki, gi, this; geu, here.
kini, this (?); kineu, geneu, here (?).
hān, what?

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Dumna
Toltichi

Nouns:

ton, digger-pine, plural tun-ša; ut'u, tree, ut'ô-a, timber. These plurals of inanimate nouns are unexampled in all other dialects that are grammatically known. Nônei, plural of nôno, man, occurs in other dialects also.

cuteon-au, (in the) brush.

ak'd-ate, child; poyod-ate, old man.

Adjectives:

got-ete, small, apparently from got-i, large.

Numerals:

yeteam, eleven, potedom, twelve; coplom, hate'pam, ylt'team, teolpom, nom'teom, mun'team, non'pom, thirteen to nineteen.

Verbs:

lihim-ga, run, holoc-ga, sit, wowul-ga, stand, ugun-ga, drink, wan-ga, give, yet-ka, speak—all imperative.

ogon-an, drink, wiy-an, say, tac-an (taic), see.

tanyuc-a-xon.

teapli-wic, moccasin; dat-la-wac, stepping-ceremony.

hacaw-ana, dead.

ma ti-ma wihi, did you say it?

TOLTICHI.

A divergent northern dialect, which has become extinct, was the Toltichi, spoken by the Yokuts tribe living farthest up the San Joaquin river. The last person actually using this dialect, a woman, is said by the Yokuts informants to have died thirty years ago. She was related to the old woman from whom the Dumna material used in the present paper was obtained, and from this Dumna informant a brief vocabulary of the Toltichi dialect was secured. This vocabulary, however, raises some doubts, and for this reason the dialect has not been included in the general consideration of the others. The fifty or sixty Toltichi words obtained show forms that go back quite clearly to stems characteristic of the northern Yokuts group. There are however two marked peculiarities, one phonetic, the other lexical. First, there are uniform consonant changes: s, c, and h to x, and

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Toltichi

n, l, y, tc and sometimes t to w. Second, the numerals are peculiar in not being Yokuts at all, nor Miwok or Shoshonean nor apparently of any other known linguistic family. These divergent numerals render the Toltichi dialect very puzzling. It is beyond doubt that the set of numerals obtained existed somewhere in this region, for a second informant among the northern Yokuts was sufficiently acquainted with the series to state that it was correct. On general grounds, however, it seems highly improbable that a dialect differing from the other northern Yokuts dialects principally only in regular phonetic mutations should possess a numeral system radically peculiar to itself. It is possible that this numeral system belonged to a distinct linguistic family on the upper San Joaquin, almost extinct at the coming of the whites, and that these people, through intercourse with the neighboring Yokuts, were familiar also with Yokuts, which, on account of the phonetic characteristics of their own language, they barbarously distorted; but there is no direct evidence whatever to support such a conjecture. A further complication is caused by the fact that the phonetic mutations characterizing the bulk of the Toltichi material obtained are so extreme and consistent that they differ totally in nature from all known phonetic equivalences and changes of Yokuts dialects and dialectic groups. The informant evidently held a strong impression of the phonetic peculiarity of the language, particularly its roughness, for she pronounced its k's as far back in the throat as possible and emphasized as strongly as possible both the guttural and the spirant character of the x with which she replaced the s of her own dialect. As she spoke this it still bore some audible resemblance to s, and was formed with the lower lip drawn into the mouth. It seems very unlikely that any language was actually thus spoken. It must therefore be concluded that the phonetic peculiarities of this dialect have been exaggerated in the record obtained. Once this exaggeration is accepted, it becomes doubtful to what extent it was carried. It may be concluded that the dialect differed from the neighboring Yokuts dialects in the directions indicated by the material obtained; but whether only slightly, or to the degree shown by this vocabulary, must be doubtful.

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Toltichi
DUMNA

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*197 If, accordingly, the Toltichi were Yokuts,[1] and not people of another linguistic family whose distortion of Yokuts has been imitated in the scant material secured, they must be regarded as a specialized offshoot of the northern group. If their language is at all fairly represented by the vocabulary, it possessed sufficient distinctness to entitle it to be regarded as a separate branch, and the number of Yokuts dialectic groups would have to be increased from six to seven. After all considerations, however, the internal nature of the information secured raises so many doubts, that it has seemed best to regard the available material as only tentative, and to refrain from definitely regarding the Toltichi as forming a distinct Yokuts dialectic group.

*197 The material obtained is here given, together with the Dumna equivalents. It will be seen that the presence of the imperative 193 suffix -ka, and of the form amin for the possessive pronoun of 192 the third person, if correct, place Toltichi close to the other northern Yokuts dialects.

English	*Toltichi*	*Dumna*
1	nās	yet
[802] 2	bis	puncl
3	nayo	sōopin
4	āmin	hatepanai
5	hie	yitecinil
6	otol	te'olipl
7	makate	nomte'in
8	te'eltemak	mon'oe
9	wā'dite	nōnip
10	wadl'te	ta'leu
person	wokotē	yokote
man	wo'wāl	nōnsi
woman	mok'ōwa	mok'ōla
child	k'ow-ite	ak'd-ate
ear	xuk°	tuk
eye	xaxa	sasa
nose	winik'	t-inik
mouth	xama	cama
hand	p'oñox	b'onoe
foot	ta'wau'	dad-ats
back	katauw°	gadai, eotex

[1] It may be said that several northern Yokuts informants were unanimous in declaring the Toltichi to have been a Yokuts tribe, and the one farthest up the San Joaquin river.

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Toltichi
Dumna
Chukchansi

English	*Toltichi*	*Dumna*
house	chme, xhmx	xhmie
acorn	k'limin	k'lnim
berries sp.	waxato	taxâti
sun	xapin (hot)	xapil, op
fire	ocit, -oxit	ocit
water	lwix	lilk
creek	wak'lai	wakai
earth	xowai	xotsoi
world	ho'g'il	holki'
dog	hkna	tc'ka
grizzly bear	wox'o	nohoo
coyote	x'nin	kaiu
deer	xow	xai
elk	xoxgoi	soxgoi
eagle	wo'ncul	wi'usul
buzzard	x'oto	hota
rattlesnake	wat-it-	nat-it-
small fish	wopit-	hopits
salmon	gkwaxit	gkyaxit
eat	xat-ga	xat-ga
drink	ugun-ga	ugun-ga
sleep	woxi-ka	woi-ka
talk	wat-ka	yet-ka
run	wuxim-ka	lihim-ga
stand	xwoxwul-ka	wowul-ga
sit	howox-ka	holoc-ga
greeting	xawaxa	hawasa
where?	xiw'ou	hilou
where are you going?	xiw'ou xa tan'i(n)	hilou na tine
his	an'in	amin

CHUKCHANSI.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nim	nan-au
S 2	ma	min	
S 3		amin	amam-au
P 1 in.	mai		
P 3		amungun	

The locatives nan-au, by me, and amam-au, at him, were translated "here" and "there." It is not probable that the hypothetical objective of the third person singular, amam, to which amam-au points, has any actual existence. Yauelmani

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Chukchansi
Chauchila

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anam-in-wa, them, has the same hypothetical base, and this base does not occur in Yauelmani.

Demonstratives:

hi, locative he-u.

[ki, not obtained], locative ki-n-eu.

Nouns:

op-in, sun's.

naai-h, rattlesnake's.

hoyim-h-an, of the Hoyima.

teauell-h-an, of the Chauchila.

The locative in -u, -au, -iu is frequent.

Verbs:

-ka, imperative: winis-ka, hulos-ka, xat-ka, woi-ka, gun-ka, taic-ka, adj-idj-ka; heu-ne-k, pana-k.

-xon, continuative: yuneun-xon, quakes, honhon-xon, breathes, paix-im-xon, menstruates (honhon, heart, payax, blood).

-an, past: tuc-an, panai-an.

-it, passive: tuy-han-it, be shot.

-wic, reflexive: dani-wis-an, dui-wac, puxpux-wac.

-in, intransitive: heu-n-en, thus, heu-ne-k, do thus!

CHAUCHILA.

Pronouns:

S 1	na	nan	nim
S 2	ma	mam	min
D 1 in.			magin
P 1 in.	mai		main

Demonstratives:

he, this, poss. he-n-in, loc. he-u.

ke, that, loc. k-eu.

wat, who, some one.

hileu, where?

Nouns:

nopop-in father's.

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Verbs:

-ka, imperative.
-in, future-present.
-am (?)
-xo, -ə-xo, continuative.
-wic, reflexive.

The vowels of the three suffixes -ka, -in, -am are assimilated to the vowels of the stem. This is exceptional in Yokuts. Usually it is the stem-vowels that are affected by the suffix. When the suffix vowel is altered, in other Yokuts dialects, it is as frequently to contrast with the stem-vowels as to agree with them. The assimilation of the vowel of the imperative -ka is especially noteworthy, as in Yauelmani and other dialects this ending appears to be an enclitic rather than a true suffix, and fails to affect the vowels of the stem as a-suffixes do.

-ka: lui-ku, ukun-ku, tui-ku, gun-ku, lihim-i-ki, cilit-ki.
-in: ac-ac-an, woy-on, hiwet-en, ciel-en, tay-en.
-am: dauc-am, thirsty; wok-om, kill.
-xo: etil-xo, tay-ə-xo.
-wic: wok-woc, hoyo-wuc, lon-i-wic.

HOYIMA.

A few phrases of this dialect were given by Chauchila and Chukchansi informants. They appear not to be strictly accurate. [114]

helo naxon dut, Chauchila hileu nexo ux (?), what do you say (?)

haulen dut, Chauchila hileu nen ux (?), Chukchansi ha weta, what do you say?

etel-am na, Chauchila etil-xo na, I am hungry.

haul ma dut, Chukchansi haual ma du, when was that?

wiy-en, Chukchansi heu-n-en, thus.

WAKICHI.

A few Wakichi phrases were obtained from the Dumna informant. The differences that these show from the equivalent Dumna phrases have probably been exaggerated.

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Wakichi
Dumna
Wechikhit
Nutunutu

*197 wi-hin, say.
193 wiy-ăhin, said; Dumna, wiy-ăn.
192 ut-upa ma wi-hin, Dumna ma ti-ma wi-hi, did you say it?
hau hin duta, Dumna hawă an dita, what is the matter?

Wakichi, Pitkat-i, and Hoyima were said to use buuc, not teèxa, for dog. This would include them with Chauchila, Chulamni, and probably Heuchi in the valley half of the Northern group, as contrasting with Chuckchansi, Dalinchi, Kechayi, and Dumna of the foot-hill half of the same group.

Pronouns:

WECHIKHIT.

S 1	na	nim
S 2	ma	min
S 3		amin
D 1 ex.		numŏgin
D 1 in.	mak	
P 1 in.	mai	
P 2	măn	

Demonstratives:

hehi, this, hetam, here; ga, that, gau, there; wat-oku, han-uku, hiye-uku or hiye-uk, who? what? where?

Nouns:

p'an-in, world's.

Verbs:

holue-k, sit! wan-ka, give!
taut-a-xo, kill; teow^{a}-xo, work.
tăn, go.
-in suffix: xat-en, lihim-en, hatm-en, wipil-en, texal-en, sil-en, ugn-on, woy-on, wow'l-on.
-wie reflexive: tanyu-wis, hoyo-woe, dat-la-wae.

NUTUNUTU.

Pronouns: na, ma, mak, nim, min, amin.

Demonstratives: hehe-n, apparently possessive; hĕham, here; gau, there.

Verbs: xat-k, ugun-k, sil-k; wooi-an, huita-in, teow-on.

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Nutunutu

TACHI.

S 1	na	nan	nim	197 *
S 2	ma	mam	min	193
S 3			amin	192
D 1 in.	mak		makin	
P 1 in.	mai			

Demonstratives:

hihi, hehi, this (near).
ki, this, poss. ke-in, loc. ke-u.
ka, ga, that.
wat-uk, who?
han-uk, what?
haucun-uk, how many?
hiye-uk, hiye-k, where?

Numerals:

		[802]
11 yètc-am	16 tcolp-om	
12 batad-om	17 nomtc-om	
13 copi-om	18 munc-am	
14 hotcp-om	19 coponhot-min	
15 yitc-am		

Nouns:

tatci, pl. tatcètcayi.
t-uxoxi, pl. t-uxòxayi.
tcunut, pl. tcunòtati.
(wimiltci), pl. wimèlatci.
(wetcixit), pl. witcèxatci.
(wowol), pl. wowòwoli.
(nutununtu), pl. nutant-ic-a.
witcp, child, pl. witip-atc, witip-hat.
Possessive: -in.
Locative: -u.
Instrumental: -ni.

Verbs:

Imperative: -k, -g.
Continuative: -xo, -c-xo.
Preterite: -ahin.
Future-present: -in.

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*197 Agent: -ite.
193 (Future passive): -nite, -nit.
192 Reflexive: -wic.
Causative: -la.
Future particle: min.
Negative particle: ohom, òm.

Tachi phrases:

hà-in pûuc	his dog.
puue-un dadat.	dog's foot.
min mai oy-in âwo	shall we move across, we shall move to the other side.
hilata òm na min hot'-à-xo hoyowoe	(?) not I your know name.
hiek ma xo hètei	where you live now?
kà-u nh xo toxil	there (this-at) I live west.
òm na mam cil-ahin hiâmi	not I you saw long.
hiek ma ta	where you go?
kà-u na tan nim tee-u	there I go my house-at.
hîk min tei	where your house?
kà-u na xà-n nihet-in nim tee-u	there I live older-brother's my house-at.
òm nim t-a witip-hai nèee	not my (?) children younger-brother's.
e-oyòl-in pil	antelope's road, milky way.
yokote	person.
yokteo-lis	somebody.
nèteo-in, mokela-n	man's, woman's.
xneima-n	of the northerners.
tèe-ite	a kind of medicine man (maker).
xohot-ite	ceremonial clown.
yèt-au	all (one-at).
dat-in-wae	rattlesnake ceremony (making-step, = dai-da-âite).
munai	jimson-weed (tanai).
munuy-uwue	jimson-weed-drinking-ceremony (tany-uwis).

CHUNUT.

Pronouns: na, I, ma, thou, mak, we two.

Demonstratives: hetam, here, apparently from stem hi; ki, this, ke-u, there; ga, that; wat-uk, who; han-uk, what, hiye-uk, where.

Nouns: toino-in op, night's luminary, moon.

Verbs: The imperative ending was usually heard as -ga. The continuative -xo appears in oho-xo na I like; -an in tah-an; -wie in hoyo-woe; -ite in tsalai-wiy-èita.

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Choinck

WO 'LABI. 197*

Pronouns found are na, mą, mak, nim, min, amin. 193
The demonstrative ta appears as ta-n, him, ta-in, hin. 192
Who? is wat-uk; where? hiye-uk or hiyòku.
The imperative usually ends in -k, sometimes in ka or ke.

CHOINOK.

Demonstratives:
ki, this; ka, that; hiy-uk, where?

Verbs:
xat-ka, ukun-ka, woi-ka, tui-ka.
taut-a-k, teowo-k.
got-on, strike.
gon-in-hin, fall.
san-san-wi-èite, tree-squirrel.

TEXTS IN VARIOUS DIALECTS. 539 197*

The following short texts have three sources. Numbers 1 to 27 are all transcriptions of phonographic records of songs obtained from Peter Christman, the principal Yaudanchi informant employed. Many of the songs were said by him to be in Yauelmani, Tachi, and other dialects. How far they may be mixed with Yaudanchi forms, or translated into the latter, is in many cases not certain; so that they can be used as material for a comparative study of dialects only with reservations. Numbers 28 to 35 were obtained from an old man called Chalola, by birth half Wowol, but speaking the Yauelmani dialect. The first five of these, numbers 28 to 32, are songs from a myth, and were recorded without the aid of a phonograph; the last three, numbers 33 to 35, are prayers or ceremonial speeches. All the material from this informant is good Yauelmani. Lastly, numbers 36 to 38, three short ceremonial speeches, are Tachi, obtained from a Tachi informant named Tom. The transcription and translation of the texts resemble those of the Yaudanchi texts. Translations in parentheses are given on the authority of the informant. [126 115] [115] [115]

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1. Mourning-ceremony song.

yèwò yèwò
ahanè

2. The same.

yò waxăle
ahanè

3. The same. Last song of the ceremony.

yŏuyahè
wlăhè

Ah is Yaudanchi for crying in mourning, waxil in other dialects; yŏuyahè is said to be from yuy, to thrust or motion toward, as during this song the dancers motion toward the fire; wlăhè is said to be from the stem wi, to say.

4. Ohowish ceremony song. Wükchamni.

wita	t'öpük	yo	nahaate	
said	beaver	and	other	
wita	tañ	wo	ohòwite-u	t'uiju	ma-nan
said	him		ohowish-medicine-man	shot	you me
ama	ohòwite	maya	ma-nan	t'uiju
then	ohowish-medicine-man	self	you me	shot

5. Rattlesnake ceremony song.

wita	tan	goloñkil	t·öŏd
told	him	king-snake	to-rattlesnake
am-nan	piteiu[1]		
not me	touch		
a-ma	haa	hawad'i	
not you	anything	can-do	
dok'on	teixae		
belly-full	(lie)		
doxmadhin	t·öŏd		
(rock-pile)	rattlesnake		
am-nan	pitciu		
not me	touch		
wita	a-ma	haa	hawad'i
said	not you	anything	can-do
tiñelhan	ma	t·öŏd	
squirrel-hole-many	you	rattlesnake	

[1] Handle, catch, take, stop.

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dok'on belly-full	teixac-ma (lie) you	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
ma you	ti-nan (what) me	haudihi can-do?
yapkanhin many-trees	t·ōōd rattlesnake	
te'ineu shade	teixac (lie)	
a-ma not you	haa anything	hawad'i can-do
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
te'odwonhin plains	t·ōōd rattlesnake	
te'ododin white	ma you	enca eye
opodnid sun-shines-on	min your	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	

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539

The language is Yaudanchi. Several interesting forms occur. Opodnid is perhaps the continuative of an intransitive derivative from the word sun: opodo, -in, -ad. The collectives in -hin and -han have not been found otherwise in Yaudanchi, but recall the inanimate collective -hal of Yauelmani. The informant once said tiñel-hal for tiñel-han. The latter he translated "squirrel town." In addition to the forms given in the song, namely, yapkan-hin from yapkin, and doxmad-hin and te'odwon-hin, he also used the word bokdo-hin, "where many springs." As spring is bokid, the ending -hin is in this word added to the locative suffix. None of the nouns in question are capable of taking an ordinary plural. The forms -hin and -han have some appearance of being possessives.

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539 6. Dancing song, said to be in archaic Chunut dialect.

533 wèhè yōhō
192 woho yoho

na kiiteau hoyoji p'ana
I named earth

kalagawiw
(invisible)

widāta not'
east

walan-iho
yesterday

7. An old dancing song of the Tachi Indians.

hanuk-u teipin-ēwe
who brave!

yèha
yoha

xomòt-i māy-a tān-iyo
south we go

yèha
yoha

pinèt'iux na teay-e
ask I down-feather

Teipin, Yaudanchi t-ipni, is wonderful, supernatural.

8. Said to be a Tachi song.

xami xami wuala kè na
(come!) (come!) stand (this) I

nan ki ma panahiu teipui
me (this) you (arrive) supernatural-power

nāyu
nayu

9. Said to be a Tachi song.

wèhè yoho
woho yoho

nan-a ge ma ha wiihiu
me you (do not mind)

ùkak tean-a witcèpa
see (that-distant) child

539 A very barbarous Tachi. Ekak is the Yaudanchi stem ōka, not found in the Valley dialects, with the imperative ending -ka

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or -k found only in the Valley dialects. Child in Tachi is not witeep but witep. Tcan-a seems to be similarly formed, by substitution of tc for t, from tan, Yaudanchi tañ, objective of ta, that.

10. A medicine man's song for dancing. He dreamed that his father said to him:

lanaka nan-a
listen to-me

mayèmai
(name of the composer of the song)

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge who

wè mukulau
we (turning)

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament who

11. From the informant's grandfather.

yò-nono pana
again (pursues)

pĭwaca nan yo-nona pana
grizzly-bear me again (pursues)

For piwaca compare the Tachi form bĭwacă and Tulamni blawas. For pana compare song 8.

12. Dreamed by a man the night after he had seen a water monster.

watin xe t'uit'ai dupit·
whose this shoot fish?

wi xi min ta wateam shăălnd
well, this your that feather-hand-ornament is-panting

13. Grizzly-bear-doctor's song, learned from the bears by the informant's father-in-law.

mèedjin xolònou
(noise of scratching)

teuyuak ma ha tala taaji
(even if you enter)

yakiuhaaliu
at the rocks

tā-na-mam otokotooji
that I you (raise).

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539 197 Yakiuhaaliu is the locative of the collective -hal, which has so far been found only in Yauelmani, suffixed to the Yaudanchi stem yakau, rock, for which Yauelmani uses silil. The l in this and other words points to a Valley dialect.

533 539 192 14. Eagle song, for dancing. Dreamed by the informant's grandfather. Clearly a Valley dialect.

yileyalè
earthquake

silika nim teicau
see my emergence-at

walāliu teoxil-a māyu
at-open-place eagle

15. *Dancing song.* The informant's grandmother dreamed that she learned it from a coyote.

mam wiliteyau muyukun
you (in-front-of) whirl

yèhā
yeha

uyayet ke teèkèya māyin p'aanin
(mourn-for) that string our world's

Said to be Yauelmani; and in fact teikei, string, and ke, that, are Yauelmani but not Yaudanchi forms. Cf. l in wiliteyau.

16. Coyote song. For dancing.

na kaiu
I coyote

naan kaiu
we coyotes

anm p'an widji taeki
then earth told those

ama p'an widji
then earth told

a-ma-nan-hi k'uyak'tad
not you me will scratch

17. Coyote song. For dancing.

kaiiu-na yawud
coyote I (do-thus)

ama na t-ipinit lòlènae
then I from-above (twirled)

kaiiu-na yaud
coyote-I (do-thus)

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18. Coyote song. For dancing.

kaiiu wita
coyote said

hanham-na kaiiu-na
what-am I? coyote I

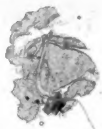
wi idkau-un na
well, water-in I

hanham-na
what-am I?

kaiiu-na
coyote I

This song is said to be from the Kings River or Northern Yokuts.

19. Coyote song. For dancing. The deer says:



xeu nau t'ui cik'an-nim
here me shoot side-in my

kaiyuwin naan ta t'uyoc
coyote's you that arrow

20. Dancing song; about the deer.

wat-a nan
who me

t'uyon
shoots!

t·ipinit
from-above

t'uyon
shoots!

yèiteai
once

t'uyon
shoots!

wèhèn
when

21. Dancing song about the deer.

xuyin naan
return we

nòtu naan xuyin
east we return

tahiteipau
to-Tehachapi

p'annin
land's

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533 22. Mountain-sheep song.

539 'hiyeu-na ukunumū

192 or: hideu-na ukun
where I drink-will

wa na dōmto ukun
for I mountain-at drink-will

23. Ground-squirrel song. When the ground-squirrel, pohad, eats buckeyes, it becomes crazy.

ama wateimji oteote t·ipin
Then swung-in-his-hand magpie high

muyukju
whirled

wateimin oteoteo
swinging-in-his-hand magpie

[301] Wateam is a feather ornament held in the hand, wateim is to hold or move it; oteote, magpie, appears to mean magpie feathers.

24. Road-runner's song. Yauelmani or a Valley dialect. The Yaudanchi equivalent words as given by the informant are added.

oynoyu nan he
oyuy nan xe
road-runner me here

limini nui
dawit-sa mak
let-run us-two

hiam-ā na teokonit
hiam na teokit
now I am-hit

teokunau nim
teoxhau nim
feather-belt-in my

25. Otter song. Yaudanchi.

nahait· hāhi dawit yaudau
otter (said): "run in-brush!"

dahaud-na yaudau dawit
hear I: "in-brush run!"

26. Water's song. Dreamed by a female relative, of his grandfather's generation, of the informant. The present version is in Yaudanchi. The original song is said to have been in the

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Yokoi dialect. In this the first line ran: yo ki-mi-nana taxenen, and the last: tolomit na ilekin. 533 539 192

yo	ti-na	taxin
again	do you	come!

wa	ha	mai	kitowin
far	something	we	will-go

wa	na	kitiu
far	I	go

todomit	na	idkin
do-not-find	I	water's

27. Pleiades song. Dreamed by a relative of the informant's father.

guyèpa	nana	guyèpa
(spin-around	we	spin-around)

hāini	hamāna
(fly	what-we!)

mɔ̀xumxai
(Pleiades)

Said to be in Paleuyami dialect.

28. Song from a myth about the prairie-falcon.

xoiyu	nan
return	to-me! (we!)

xoiyu	nan
return	ibid

ama	aim	hūwut·
then	my	gambling

t·awe	nau
beat	me

dokoi-aim
game my

29. Another.

hiwèti	go
yo na	again I
hiwèti	go
naauntayo	
lanlyo	
hilalèkiyo	
t-awat-e	beat

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533 30. Another.

539 yahĭ lulumai
192 yahĭmai lulĭmai
awawa kanama
tanlyo
yapĭwipiwimai
tawana tsiniyo
hilalĭkiyo
t-awat-i t-awat-

31. Another.

hila ma tä	you
hayäwiyu	(ridicule)
lòkoyowani	(ignorant)
wantin	whose
humuyu hile	

32. Another.

hòsĭmi	cold
hòsĭwimine	cold
wanit wilima	from-far (?)
lanä-na-ma	hear
hòsimi	cold

782 33. A prayer for good fortune. Yauelmani. Evidently a
788 fixed formula. Spoken rapidly, rhythmically, and monotonously,
796 with motions of the arms, alternately and together, to the heart and out again. Seven deities are addressed. The impure vowels found in the names of these deities do not occur in Yauelmani. The r occurring in pitsuriut is not a Yokuts sound at all.

782 silkawil nan
192 silka-nan töweiut
539 silka-nan bamäleiut
silka-nan yoxäxalt
silka-nan etebpat

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silka-nan pitsariut
see me name

silka-nan tsukit
see me name

silka-nan ukat
see me name (looked)

yèt·a man amlin nan
together ye help me

nim yèt·au t·ikexo texal
my together is-tied talk

maiayiu lomto
with-the-large mountain

maiayiu silelhaliu
with-the-large rocks

maiayiu witsetaliu
with-the-large trees (woods)

yèt·au polut-nim
together body my

ucuk-nim
heart my

yèt·au-ma-nan amalan
together ye me help

t·è·pani
supernatural

yò-ma
and you

dank
day

yò-ma
and you

tolno
night

yet·a-man
together ye

nau-silèxo
me see

yò
and

yet·au ki
together this

p'aan
world

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782 192 539 **34. Prayer to the panther for success in hunting deer. Yauelmani. Down and kasyin seeds are deposited on the ground during the prayer.**

ya wehèsit	ya, panther
wökitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
hanas	hunter
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
wökitska-nan t·iimi	(give) me (now)
wehèsit	panther
ma	you
yiitsa	alone
hanas	hunter

796 539 192 [788] **35. Speech made by the old man in charge of the tanyuwis, the jimson-weed ceremony, to the novices. With each phrase he motions with the basket of liquid as if to give it. After the third phrase he hands the basket. Yauelmani dialect.**

ukunka	kin	ilka	tŏnsyutin	
drink	this	water	for-Tŏnshut	
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	hamasyutin
drink	this	water	for-that	Hamashlut
ukunka	kin	ilka	kèin	yuxaxaitin
drink	this	water	for-that	Yukhakhait

782 192 539 823 **36. Tachi formula spoken when one comes to strange water. When this formula is said, the beings in the water allow one to take of it.**

mak	heham	xoin	hiamu	pāna
we	here	live	long	world
hehi	makin	ilik		
this	our	water		

821 192 539 **37. Tachi formula, sung, accompanied by dancing, by an old woman at an eclipse of the sun.**

heneitka-nan	mitèni	opòni	
leave me	with-a-little	sun	
anè nan	yèt·au	teomeot'k (or teom'k)	
(not) for-me	altogether	eat-it	
heneit	nan	mitèni	
leave	me	with-a-little	

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38. Tachi formula spoken to the dead, to prevent their return as ghosts.

miin	ma	ôyin	lakil	p'aana
	you	go	(another)	land
huyetoim	tan	p'aan		
(like)	that	land		
ohom	ma	heha	xoyi	
not	you	here	live	

STATUS OF YOKUTS AMONG THE LANGUAGES OF CALIFORNIA.

From what has been said, most fully of Yaudanchi, it appears that Yokuts forms one of a group of linguistic families occupying the greater part of the state of California, especially its central region. This group of families, which has been defined in a general discussion of the types of structure of the languages of California,[1] is marked by simple phonetics, the lack of incorporation, the presence of cases, and a simple transparent structure, and in addition to Yokuts includes Costanoan, Esselen, Maidu, Wintun, Yuki, Pomo, and perhaps other languages, besides showing certain general resemblance of type to Shasthnean, Lutuami, and Sahaptin. In certain respects Miwok or Moquelumnan, bordering Yokuts on the north, seems also to belong to this type. Chumash and Salinan, however, which are territorially in contact with Yokuts, occupying the adjacent coast, belong to another group, the Southwestern, which comprises only these two families and is marked by disagreement from the large Central Californian group in all the points that have been mentioned as typical of this.[2] The characteristics that probably distinguish the morphology of Yokuts most sharply from that of the other linguistic families belonging to the same Central group, are its development of systems of vocalic mutation as an

[1] R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, The Native Languages of California, American Anthropologist, n. s. V, 1, 1903. The families in one group are not etymologically or genetically related, but are structurally similar.

[2] Ibid., and Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco, p. 48 of this volume.

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*197 accompaniment or means of grammatical expression, the predominance of polysyllabic stems, and the slight development of derivation by affixion and composition. It seems that these three features are all more or less related. Most of the other languages of the group of which it forms part show no vocalic mutation other than perhaps an occasional harmonizing of vowels. Esselen and Costanoan are probably,[1] and Yuki and Pomo certainly, free from any developed vocalic mutation. The last two languages are characterized by great distinctness of stems, which are in large measure monosyllabic. This distinctness is not so apparent to the ear as it becomes visible on analysis. Most Yuki and Pomo words are actually composed of several stems, either independent or affixes, which scarcely affect each other's phonetic shape by being brought in contact, other than perhaps for insertions of euphonic vowels. In consequence, the words of three or four syllables in Yuki and Pomo almost always differ from those of equal length in Yokuts in being built up of a number of constituent parts, but on account of the comparative phonetic immutability of the parts the structure of the words remains transparent. Maidu shows vocalic harmony to a considerable extent and it will be interesting to know whether the scope and forms of this are similar to those of Yokuts harmony, especially as there seems to have been some borrowing of words between the two languages, indicating the possibility that they may at some time have been in closer contact. Maidu, however, appears to resemble Yuki and Pomo in that its words possess a transparent though sometimes elaborate structure. Wintun is too little known to allow anything definite to be said about it in this regard, but it seems that its structure, like that of Esselen and Costanoan, is simple, or if complex, clear, and that vocalic mutation is not developed. In its grammatical cases Yokuts resembles the other families of the Central group except in that it possesses only one local case that is specific, the ablative, whereas in the other languages a large number of specialized locative cases are usually found. A considerable diversity exists among the languages of the Central Californian group in regard to the expression respectively by characterizing affixes, or by descriptive phrases, of ideas

[1] Pp. 49, 69 of this volume.

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of shape, motion, direction, or instrument. The former method is found in a number of languages outside of California. Within the state it is known to occur in Washo, Maidu, and Pomo; and, on account of its intermediate geographical relation, it is not unreasonable to look for this feature also in Wintun. On the other hand some languages of the Central group do not show such affixes. This is certain of Yokuts and Yuki, and probable of others. The extent of the development of the plural in Yokuts is very similar to that occurring in certain other families in the Central Californian group, such as Yuki. Some families, such as Pomo, show practically no plural, and others, like Miwok, a considerably more extensive one than Yokuts. The importance of reduplication is also about the same in Yokuts and in the other families of its type. The same may be said of such features as the absence of articles and the frequency but grammatical indefiniteness and unimportance of demonstratives. The resemblances between distinct families belonging to one morphological type can of course be only general. With this in view, it is clear that Yokuts forms part of the Central Californian group of languages, its most marked peculiarity within this group being its correlated features of vocalic harmony, polysyllabic stems, and lack of structural composition.